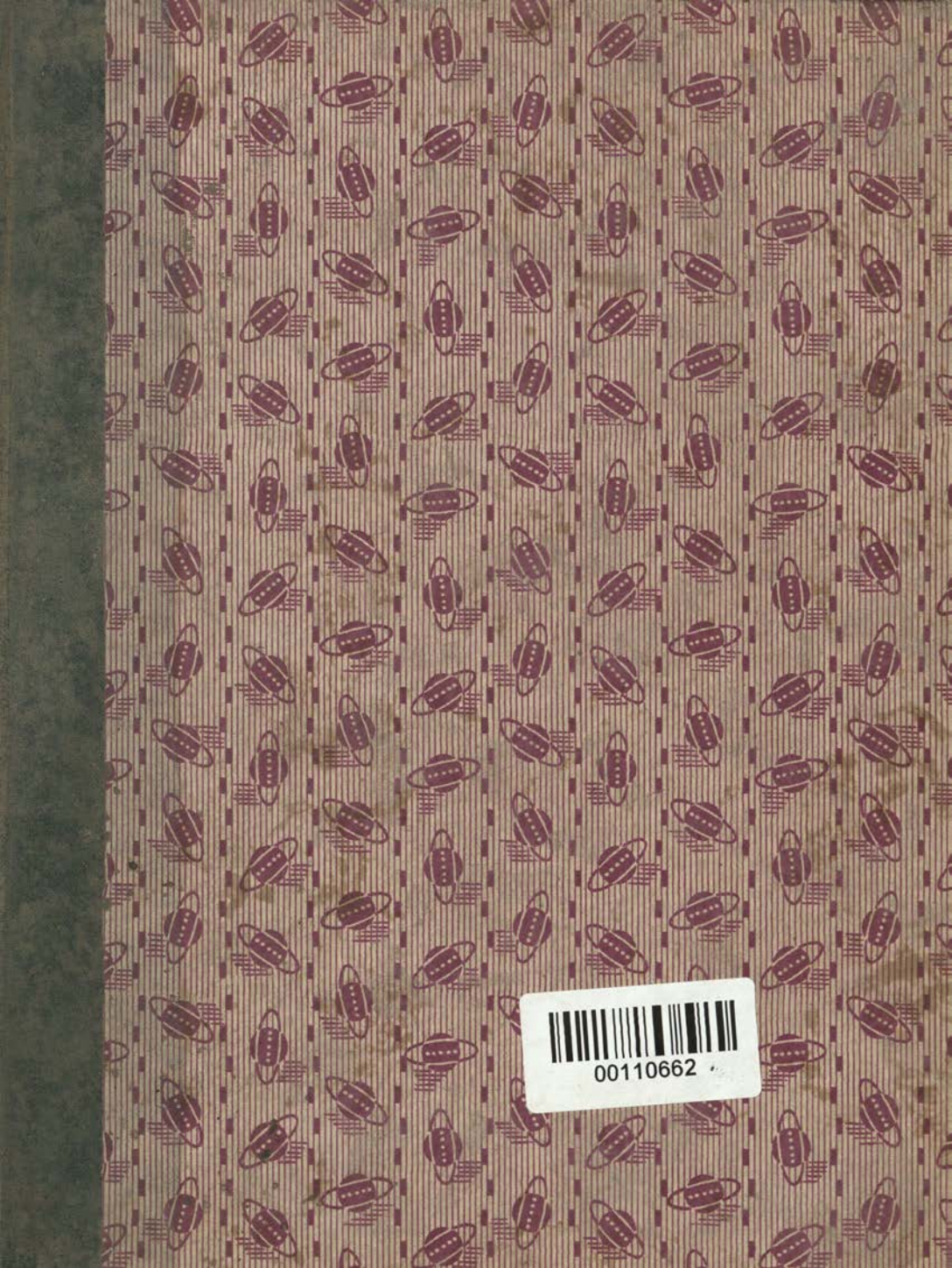
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THE

SECRET AND TRUE HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE RESTORATION TO THE YEAR 1678.

BY THE

REV. MR JAMES KIRKTON.

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TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP,

BY JAMES RUSSELL,

AN ACTOR THEREIN.

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EDITED FROM THE MSS.

BY

CHARLES KIRKPATRICK SHARPE, ESQ.

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1817.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE, EARL GOWER,

THIS VOLUME

Is gratefully dedicated

BY

THE EDITOR.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

Of the Rev. Mr James Kirkton's pedigree, which probably was ever very obscure, nothing has as yet been ascertained. He left no memoirs of himself that have reached posterity; and his sufferings in the cause of presbytery did not obtain him a place in that copious volume of Caledonian martyrology, entitled, "Biographia Scoticana, or a Brief Historical Account of the Lives, Characters, and memorable Transactions of the most eminent Scots Worthies."

From several passages in his History, and one in Lord Fountainhall's Diary, it is probable that he was born about the year 1620.

In a quarto copy of the Solemn League and Covenant (printed at Edinburgh by Evan Tyler, 1648) Kirkton's signature has been discovered; and as all, or the greater part of his companions who subscribed, are known to have been clergymen at that time, and as he styles himself Mr James Kirkton, (he sometimes wrote Kirton,) a distinction confined, in a great measure, to those who had been ordained preachers, it is to be presumed that he was then in orders. The date of his *Covenanting Work*, as it was called, is 11 Aprile, 1649.

Thus, according to an expression of Wodrow, Kirkton was "one of the Antediluvian Presbyterian Ministers, that is, such who had seen the glory of the former Temple, and were ordained before the Restoration." He obtained, but at what time I know not, the living of Mertoun, in the Merse; from which, in the year 1662, he was expelled by an act of council made at Glasgow, and aimed against those presbyterian clergymen who refused to observe holy-days, to take the oaths of allegiance or supremacy, own church patronage, and subject themselves to episcopal jurisdiction.

In the year 1671, Kirkton entered into a very intemperate dispute with Gideon Scott of Highchester, who had been infected with the errors of quakerism, concerning which he addressed a letter to the Rev. Mr Donaldson, a friend of Kirkton. Donaldson answered Scott in a style which the quaker, in his rejoinder, termed blasphemous; but death prevented the other from vindicating himself from so foul an aspersion, and Kirkton stept in to defend the memory of his friend, and refute the sophisms of his antagonist. The combatants met by chance upon the 18th of February, 1671, "when," says Scott in a letter to Kirkton, "being together in companie of such as have a good estieme of your ministrie, to retaine which you were not wanting to assert sundrie things in your wonted dialect, of the quakers, and their tenets; and avowed that it was ane easie thing to refute them: I desyred you to try yourself, and write against them, for everie one would not take that upon trust; ye said, that was done over and over againe; I told, you did wiselie to assert stoutlie, but referre men to the *long sails*, for probation."

The whole of this paper war is to be found among Wodrow's MSS.; of course, it is more verbose than logical; and from the date of Gideon Scott's last letter, it appears to have gone on for

two years, concluding, as such debates generally do, in the conversion of neither of the parties.*

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* In the year 1657, George Fox, the celebrated quaker, made a pilgrimage to Scotland, in order to observe and encourage the operations of the spirit in his northern friends. The Scots are reviled in his Journal as a *dark carnal* people, yet he anticipates great increase of quaking among them; "for when I first set my horse's feet upon the Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but there is abundance of thick cloddy earth of hypocrisie that is a top, and a briary brambly nature which is to be burnt up with God's word, and plowed up with his spiritual plow," &c. In this presage of conversion he was not mistaken; for the sect spread rapidly, especially about Aberdeen and Elgin; and subsequently excited a severe persecution, by fining and imprisonment, illegally grounded on a strained construction of an act of parliament levelled against conventicles. Among less distinguished families which caught the contagion of quakerism, that of Harden was more particularly tainted; for though Sir William Scott himself adhered to the presbyterian creed, his brothers, Walter Scott of Raeburn, and Gideon Scott of Highchester, with whom Kirkton entered into a controversy, were both obstinate quakers. The registers of the privy council (A. D. 1665, 1666) prove the hardships inflicted upon Scott of Raeburn by that administration, which Wodrow accuses of so much lenity to all sects but his own. He was long incarcerated in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, compelled to pay heavy fines, and his children were torn from him and their mother, in order to be preserved from the infection of his religious principles. By an order of the privy council, these infants were committed to the care of Raeburn's eldest brother Sir William Scott of Harden, who possessed himself of his wards by the connivance of their maternal uncle, MakDougal of Makerston; it is said that their mother followed them, when they were removed from the house of Lessudden to that of Makerstoun, where, on being excluded from entering, she fell upon her knees, and prayed that those who thus forcibly separated the child and parent might have no heir-male to succeed them,—a petition which seemed to have been granted, as the male line of both uncles became extinct; and had it proceeded from a presbyterian, would, with its consequences, have made no little figure in Wodrow and the Scotch Worthies. It may be remarked, that the female quakers of Scotland are not known to have been guilty of those excesses which their sisters of England fell into; they neither constituted a harem for a favourite brother, nor stript themselves

Sept. 3d, 1672, Mr James Kirkton and Mr John Greg were named, by act of council, as indulged ministers in the parish of Carstairs, in Lanerkshire, " to repair there, and to remain therein confined; and permitted and allowed to preach, and exercise the other parts of their ministerial function." Of this indulgence, so abhorrent to the rebellious spirit which then possessed his sect, Kirkton did not avail himself; and in his History he endeavours to prove the iniquity of complying with such a measure. But it is impossible, either as a churchman or a politician, to allege any good reason against it; and what Kirkton and his associates deemed, or pretended to think, a *noble stand* for religion and liberty, can be regarded by an unprejudiced eye in no other light than that of bigotted obstinacy, and unprovoked rebellion.

That men of tender consciences, who had once taken the covenant, should be unwilling to yield entirely to the abjured system of episcopacy, is neither to be reprobated nor wondered at; but when an indulgence such as this was tendered, which permitted a free exercise of their religion, and merely forbade unseemly political discussions from the pulpit, railing against dignities there, and deprived churchmen of that lordly jurisdiction with which they had formerly tyrannised, those who spurned at it must either have [illegible] unfit to exist under any civil government, or madly ambitious [illegible] dying martyrs to the good old cause in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh.

November, 1673, Kirkton was in England; for the council order

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naked in public to be *a sign to the people.* Such abuses in England were derived from the Ranters, a set of shameless enthusiasts, according to Richard Baxter, " who spake most hideous words of blasphemy, and many of them committed w—edoms commonly: insomuch, that a matron of great note for godliness and sobriety, being perverted by them, turned so shameless a w—e, that she was carted in the streets of London."

him to be cited to compear within sixty days, to answer for not accepting of the indulgence. He returned to Scotland; and the year following preached to great crowds of his own persuasion in the church of Cramond, near Edinburgh. 11th June, 1674, the council gave out a decreet against the heritors of Cramond, because, "notwithstanding the acts against conventicles, in April or May last, Mr George Johnstoun and Mr James Kirktoun kept a conventicle in the kirk and kirk-yard of Cramond;" and on the 16th of July, Kirkton, with many of his brethren, was denounced rebel, and put to the horn, for holding these unlawful meetings; but he seems to have contrived to escape the arm of justice until the year 1676, when Captain Carstares seized him, and he was rescued by his brother-in-law, Mr Baillie of Jerviswood. This event is circumstantially detailed in his History; and also in that of Bishop Burnet, who varies from the other in almost every particular, and describes Kirkton as "an eminent preacher among the presbyterian teachers, who was as cautious as the rest were bold, and had avoided all suspicious and dangerous meetings;" though he seems really to have been as intrepid as his brethren, at least in the year 1674. Jerviswood paid dearly for the rescue* of his brother-in-law, who,

* He was severely fined, and sent prisoner to Stirling Castle, together with Mr Ker of Kersland. Kersland had been apprehended in his wife's chamber, and examined before the privy council. "When he was going away, the chancellour asked him what it was his lady said to him at parting, having got information from some of the party. He had really forgot the express words, being in a hurry, and answered, He did not exactly remember. The other told he would refresh his memory, and said, she had exhorted him to cleave to the *good old cause*."—WODROW, vol. I. p. 424. It is astonishing to consider how anxious the female zealots at that time were to make their husbands—nay, their favourite preachers, obtain the martyr's crown through the medium of a halter. Guthrie is said to have been absolutely diverted from his purpose of yielding obedience to government by the ladies who visited him while in prison.

on his escape, was *intercommuned*; that is, all persons were forbid to converse with, shelter, or supply him with any thing, on pain of treason. He retired to Holland; but appears to have returned to his native country before the month of July, 1679. On the 31st of that month, an anonymous correspondent of the Rev. Mr Robert Wyllie gives an account of a disaster that had befallen him, which is ludicrous, through the roguery of the soldiers, who seized the poor man, and seem to have treated him as cats torment a mouse; it would appear from the passage that Kirkton had at that time made his peace with the ruling powers.

"Mr Kirtone was not to preach either in town or country that day he was taken. I told you he was taken at Liberton; the reason was because he fled at the sight of a redcoat, and 2 or 3 dayes thereafter he was taken three tymes at Leith, the souldiers preying on him to get more; at length he was fetched to the Cannongate guard, from thence to the tolbooth; and thence to Dalyell his lodging, who being informed of his ill usage and innocence, caused restore the 7 dollars to him, and give up his bond of £.200 ster. to compier when called. That day he was at Leith he promised to meit with his brethren, but keept not."—WYLLIE'S *Correspondence*, WODROW *MSS*.

In the year 1685, Kirkton and his family resided at Rotterdam. The Rev. Mr Thomas Halyburton states, that "during his own abode there, on Monday and Friday's night Mr James Kirkton commonly lectured in his family. On Saturday he catechised the

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In the year 1680, when Skene, Potter, and Stuart were hanged, Potter on the scaffold seemed to hesitate, and it was thought would have accepted of the pardon offered if he would say "God save the King;" but his wife seizing his arm, almost pushed him off the ladder, and said, "Go die for the good old cause, my dear; see Mr Skene (who was already executed) will sup this night with Christ Jesus."

children of the Scots sufferers who came to him."—(HALYBURTON's *Memoirs*.)—He appears to have remained in Holland till the year 1687, when he availed himself of King James's toleration, and once more repaired to Edinburgh, where he excited some heat among his brethren, by declining their ecclesiastical authority in distributing of ministers. This we learn from Lord Fountainhall's MS. Diary:—"*October*, 1687. The presbyterian ministers have a General Meeting or Assembly at Edinburgh, where they lay down rules for providing ministers to preach in their meeting-houses, and got in letters from sundry places, craving ministers to be sent them. Mr James Kirkton being designed by the meeting to be one of the ministers in Edinburgh, and he finding it a great toil to one of his age to lecture and preach twice every Sunday, and once every week, and having ane invitation to Newbottle, declined it; and they resolving to use authority, he protested against their power, they not being a judicature, and that his former parocheners of Merton were not cited or acquainted. This made some animosity among them."—However, Kirkton seems to have given up the point, as he is known to have preached to numerous congregations in a meeting-house on the Castle-hill, immediately previous to the Revolution.

On that joyful event he had the satisfaction of seeing all his old rivals of the opposite persuasion either torn from their pulpits, beat, abused, and half-murdered by the rabble, (a mode of treatment to which many of them had been formerly well inured,*) or those

* "What instances of this nature these few years have produced, all the nation knows. How many of the ministers have been invaded in their houses, their houses rifled, their goods carried away, themselves cruelly beaten and wounded, and often made to swear to abandon their churches, and that they should not so much as complain of such bad usage to those in authority. Their wives also escaped not the fury

of the degraded faith who made compliance with presbyterianism, craftily ejected from their livings by some device of fixing scandal on their private lives. Mr Andrew Meldrum, the usurper of Kirkton's parish in the Merse, was forced to yield up his flock to their old pastor in the year 1690, 'himself dying about 1697,' says the author of a MS. List of Episcopal Ministers in Parishes at the Revolution, '*a scandalous drunkard*;' but Kirkton seems now to have discovered that he was not too old to exercise his function in Edinburgh, and therefore gave up the parish of Merton, after preaching there only two Sundays. The following details of his conduct in these particulars are extracted from a pamphlet, entitled, "An Account of the late Establishment of the Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, 1690."

"The famous Mr J. Kirkton, one of the most noted pres: preachers in the whole kingdom. This known sound man had entered by the thing called the popular call, to the church of Martin, in the last times of presbytery, and had been deprived with the rest, 1652. When K. James gave his Tol^{n}. A. 1687, he was preferred to a meeting-house in Edin. where it seems he found better encouragement than he expected to meet with, if he should return to his own country parish of M: and in this meeting-house he continued till after this act of parliament passed. Mr Meldrum, the epis^{l}. minister at

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of these accursed zealots, but were beaten and wounded, some of them being scarce recovered out of their labour in child-birth. Believe me, these barbarous outrages have been such, that worse could not have been apprehended from heathens. And if, after these, I should recount the railings, scoffings, and floutings which the conformable ministers meet with to their faces even on streets and publick high-ways, not to mention the contempt is poured on them more privately, I would be looked on as a forger of extravagant stories."—*Bishop* BURNET'S *Vindication of the Oaths, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland,* &c. printed 1673.—See also WODROW, *passim;* and SYMSON'S Preface to his *Tripatriarchicon.*

M. had complied with the civil government, and done all duty; and so continued still in the exercise of his ministry there till toward the end of August, 1690, that is ten or twelve weeks after Whitsunday; and not till then it was that good Mr Kirkton went to visit his poor old parish. But then he went indeed with energy suitable to his party; for no sooner arrived he there, but presently he turned peremptory, demanded the benefit of the act of parliament, thrust Meldrum from the parsonage-house and the church, preached two Sundays there, and secured thereby his title to the whole benefice from Whitsunday 1689, and then returned to Edin: where (as I hear) he has still resided since, without ever minding his old flock at Martin; and who can blame him? for every one who knows them both knows that Edin: is a much better place, and now he has left his meeting-house, and possessed himself of a church in that city, after a certain sort of *providential* manner: but I will not trouble you with an account of it at present, hoping that you may learn it shortly from another hand; in the mean time Martin continues still vacant. Kirkton is wiser (as I have said) than to put it in the ballance with Edin: the rest of the presbyterian divines think it reasonable to take the best benefice so long as they have so much scope for choice; neither will they suffer Meldrum the prelatist to return at any rate: And they are in the right, for the first book of Discipline saith, 'It's better to have no minister at all than a bad one.' Now the subsumption is easy, if the man ever owned episcopacy."

This account of Kirkton's rapacity, which probably is much exaggerated, was denied in sundry pamphlets written by Dr Rule, and others, who asserted that he gave one half of the stipend to the ejected clergyman, and the other to the poor; it was about this time also that he was reviled as an intolerant bigot, and an eccle-

siastical mountebank, in the Jacobitical History of the First General Assembly of the Scottish Church after the Revolution, printed at London. On one occasion he is said to have become weary of the tedious prayers of his brethren in the Assembly, and to have exclaimed, "What means all this fool praying?" which agrees with his character, as represented in Dr Pitcairn's ingenious play, called the Scotch Assembly, where he is introduced under the name of Mr Covenant Plain-dealer; he also occupies a considerable share of the preface, and a sample of his pulpit oratory is produced, much too indelicate and profane to be here repeated.

But of all the abusive pamphlets which assailed him, Kirkton seems to have been chiefly enraged by a scurrilous work, entitled, Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed, which appeared very soon after the Revolution. This he mentions in his History with much resentment. The author inveighs against him, not only for his wrongful appropriation of the year's stipend of Merton, but for his ridiculous manner of preaching, and foolish or unsound doctrine; he is accused of having asserted, in one of his sermons, that Abraham fled from the land of Chaldea for debt; and the following specimen of his eloquence, at the celebration of a monthly fast, is vouched as authentic by the author of the book, who pretends that he himself heard him pronounce it. "After he had read his text, which, if I rightly remember, was, *In that day I will not regard their prayers nor their tears, &c.* In speaking to these words, says he, I shall show you five lost labours, three opportunities, three fears, three woes, three lamentations, three prophecies, and a word about poor Scotland: For the three fears, the first is a great fear, and that is, lest this king give us all our will. The second is a very great fear, and that is, if we should get all our will, I fear we should not make good use of it. The third fear is the greatest of all, but I

must not tell you that fear, sirs, for fear it should fear you all to hear it. All the town knows that this is true, and he never preaches but after this ridiculous manner."*

Perhaps a juster estimate of Kirkton's method in conveying instruction from the pulpit, may be formed by perusing some notes of one sermon, printed from a MS., and another entire discourse, published after his death, which are subjoined to this notice. Yet,

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* In "The Memoirs and Spiritual Exercises of Elizabeth West, written by her own hand," very frequent and honourable mention is made of Kirkton, and his impressive style of preaching. Among other things, she says, "Oftentimes Mr James Kirkton had this expression in the pulpit of Self, 'That dead dog, self! it is as easy to pull the marrow out of our bones, as to pull self out of our hearts.' She also mentions his disapprobation of a book which his sect are reported, by the author of the Presbyterian Eloquence, to have abhorred. "There is a book which the curates have among them, which they call 'The Whole Duty of Man,' which book is a clear discovery of their errors; for in all that book there is nothing but morality preached up. The eminent servant of Christ, Mr James Kirkton, very frequently in the pulpit gave his testimony against this book; he said, that it was so far from being the whole duty of man, that it was not half of the duty of man; for his thoughts were, that the whole duty of man consisted in receiving Christ; and in all this book there was never a word of Christ, either as to receiving or employing him in any thing whatsoever; and yet they cry up this book before all others."

Another accusation brought against Kirkton by his adversaries, consists of some strange expressions which he used when praying publicly for a woman much troubled in spirit. "A wholesome disease, good Lord! a wholesome disease, Lord! for the soul. Alas! said he, few in the land are troubled with this disease. Lord grant that she may have many fellows in this disease!"—It was then the custom of many clergymen to terrify their penitents into a despair which terminated in the most fatal consequences. For the mode in which they were wont to administer spiritual *consolation*, see an account of the Death-bed Horrors of John Viscount Kenmuir, printed in the Scots Worthies, or rather, "The Conflict in Conscience of a dear Christian, named Bessie Clerkson, in the Parish of Lanerk, which she lay under Three Years and a Half. Glasgow, printed by Robert Sanders, one of his Majesties Printers, 1698."

after wading through much intolerable and wicked stuff, which has been vended as the sermons of covenanting clergymen during the reigns of Charles the First and of his sons, one is convinced that the fragments of Presbyterian Eloquence, shamefully raked together in the pamphlet of that name, are not forged, or even exaggerated. And here it may be observed, that though it has been far indeed from the editor's design, in selecting passages from the above-mentioned discourses, to make the profane laugh or the pious shudder, nevertheless he entertains some fears that he may have gone too great lengths in extracting, with the deepest reverence for our holy religion and its true ministers, what was alone meant to illustrate his author. The impious man who shall peruse the discourses of the covenanted preachers, may collect a manual of blasphemy and obscenity, together with every species of nonsense, too shocking to be easily conceived; and it is truly astonishing, with such models of pulpit eloquence as England and France could then furnish, that the Scottish clergy, even in the reign of William, continued their old vulgar method of preaching, derived from Knox, Henderson, Rutherford, and other ministers, almost totally devoid of sound doctrine, solid learning, common sense, or the slightest glimmer of imagination.

On the 24th July, 1689, Kirkton, among many other ministers, had a call to the city of Edinburgh; where he continued to preach in the Tolbooth Church to his death.

In the month of August, 1690, he was constituted one of the visitors for purging the College of Edinburgh from malignant masters, and Jacobite professors.* The proceedings of these vi-

* In the catalogue of books presented to the library of Edinburgh College, commencing Sept. 1667, are the following entries:—"Mr James Kirkton, minister of the

sitors may be found in a pamphlet, entitled, Presbyterian Inquisition, as it was lately practised against the Professors and Colledge of Edinburgh, printed 1691. Two of the articles of accusation brought against the learned Dr Monro, president of the college, were "his causing take down out of the library all the pictures of the reformers, and when quarrelled by some of the magistrates, gave this answer, That the sight of them might not be offensive to the chancellor (Lord Perth) when he came to visit the college; and when Mr Cunninghame had composed his Eucharistick Verses on the Prince of Wales, he not only approved them, but presented them to the chancellor with his own hand."—"Nothing," says the author of the Presbyterian Inquisition, "pleased the gossipping sisters so much as the story of the pictures; for they hugged and embraced each other at the hearing of it: some said that the doctor did take away the pictures out of the college. No, sister, said another, he sent them away down to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, and there they were burned by the papists."—Monro's place was supplied by Dr Rule, (originally a doctor of physic,) a violent whig, whose ignorance of Latin is much laughed at by the pamphleteers of the other party. "Asking one of the students what was his name, the youth told him so and so, but not adding his surname, he asked him again, *Quid est totum nomen?* At another time, missing the key of a certain box that is kept in the library, when he would have opened it, he told them that were about him, *Nescio quid factum est de iis, habui mox.*"*

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gospel at Merton, gifted (the 15 Nov. 1671) *Historiæ Majoris Britanniæ, &c. per Johannem Major.* A. D. 1675, by Mr James Kirkton, *Lambard de Priscis Anglorum Legibus, Saxonicæ Scriptum.* Item, *Kepler de Cometis.* A. D. 1769, by Mr J. Kirkton, *Eliot's Indian Primer.*"

* In Doctor Pitcairn's Comedy of the Scotch Assembly, where Dr Rule is intro-

Kirkton died at Edinburgh in the month of September, 1699, and was buried in Trotter's tomb, in the Gray Friar's Churchyard,

> "Where Cameronians come with groans,
> To sigh upon the martyr's bones."

He appears to have married a sister of Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, as he is known to have been his brother-in-law; and Baillie's wife was a daughter of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston. Kirkton had at least two children; his son George, a surgeon, gave in a petition to the town council of Edinburgh on the 29th November, 1699, "Anent the half year's stipend, of which a part was due on the death of his father; and for the respects they have to the memory of the said Mr James Kirkton, and the respects they have to the petitioner, the town council warrand and appoint George Lawson, present town-treasurer, to pay the petitioner 1250 merks Scots."

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duced under the name of Mr Salathiel Little-sense, is another specimen of his skill in the Latin tongue. "*Biblia*, the Bible; *potest apprehendi*, can be apprehended: *cum mediis extraordinaribus et super naturalibus*, with supernatural and extraordinary means. It was ay good Latin that runs smooth, and sounds well." Dr Rule had a son, Mr Alexander, a clergyman, who proved, says Mrs Elizabeth West, "a very naughty and abominable person;" what he was guilty of she does not specify. In this degeneracy of his offspring, Dr Rule shared the fate of the celebrated Mr Cant, whose son, according to Spalding, stole the money out of the poor's-box at Aberdeen. It is well worthy of remark, that during the periods of covenanting fury, the clergy of Scotland were not only thus unfortunate in the misconduct of their children, but they themselves frequently fell into sins, not to be expected in men of their extreme outward sanctity. As a proof of this, the reader is referred to Lamont's Diary, where, among other extraordinary instances, is that of Mr John Lyndsay, *ane old man*, who, in the year 1649, "was deposed for adultrie and fornicatione, which were proven against him."

Young Kirkton probably did not altogether coincide with his father in his political principles, as he was an intimate friend of the learned Dr Pitcairn, a confirmed Jacobite, who addressed him, after his death, in two elegant Latin poems. From the first of these, it is probable, that he did not long survive his father.

Kirkton had also a daughter; for we are told by the author of the Presbyterian Eloquence, that, preaching one Sunday in his church at Edinburgh against cockups (hats or caps turned up before,) he said, "I have been this year of God preaching against the vanity of women, yet I see my own daughter in the kirk even now have as high a cockup as any of you all." This lady, indeed, may have been his daughter-in-law.*

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* Cockups seem to have been as offensive to the clergy of later times, as the wearing of hoop-petticoats, which Knox terms "Targetting of tails," was to that reformer and his brethren, at the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. The following narrative, in which Cockups make a great figure, is reprinted from Wodrow's Collection of Pamphlets.—The original consists of eight pages, 12mo.

"An True Account of Wonderfull Signs of God's Judgements, against Mockers and Slighters of God's Ministers, which has been from time to time publickly seen on [redacted] and Maligners of God's Servants; and especially on James Shearer, in the [redacted] Stannos, near Hamilton: who at first pretended to be a great Friend to Mr Foyer, [redacted] Minister in Stannos, and thereafter the said James Shearer turned the said Mr Foyer's greatest Enemy. Printed in the Year 1714.

"Mr Foyer, after that he had called the forsaid James Shearer into his chamber, told him several accidents should fall out in James Shearer his house, by a sign of God's judgement falling upon him, viz. that there should be a mare about his house foal two foals

"One of these foals shall be half woman, half beast, with a woman's face. Also he

Of Kirkton's History, two other MSS., besides that in the possession of the editor, (which was presented to him by Robert Surtees,

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particularly declared to him, as one of God's judgements that should ensue upon him, and that was, that he should have a hen should bring out a clecken of birds, and amongst these birds there should be one with a woman's face, and *Cockups* upon the head of it. After the death of the minister, there came a spirit to James his bed-side, and told him these things should happen to his family; and so it came literally to pass, that when one of his mares was about to foal, or rather the night immediately preceeding, there was heard a most terrible noise, as all the devils in hell were ringing about his house, the whole country being afrighted at the noise, which lasted the whole night over, none of the family could get sleep, himself being tossed the whole night with great fear; his own son rising, being amazed what it might be, opened the door; and immediately opening his eyes, he saw upon the medding-head a tall black man of a grim countenance, with cloven feet, in appearance like the Devil; so afterwards he went, or rather ran up to his father, (being almost beside himself with fear,) desiring him to rise, who answered, he would not rise; but his son running down in order to secure the door, he sees a great black bull standing before the door with his head towards the door, at which he was greatly afrighted, and went and lay down in his bed: in the morning, when all the people were returning to their work, they saw this mare with her two foals, one on each side, standing fore against the door, which put them all in great amazement to see one of the foals (according as the minister predicted) having a face like a woman's, and a foot and a hand on one side; and the oth[illegible] side was half beast; they took both the foals and buried them in a wood near [illegible] which when they were doing, they were almost disturbed from their wo[illegible]am noise like clapping of hands, which was heard, and thought to be very ne[illegible]n: however, by the prayers of some of the company the noise ceased, and the above-mentioned foals were gotten under ground.

" About a fortnight therafter, thinking that all things were settled, then happened the other dreadfull sign of God's judgement, which the minister predicted:

" A *Hen* belonging to him, when a cloaking, brought forth chickens, one whereof was most dreadfull to behold, the like not happening in the memory of man, having a woman's face, with *Cockups* upon the head of it. The neighbourhood having all seen this great wonder, and sign of God's judgement upon the man, took it up, and

Esq. of Mainsforth,) are known to be extant. One is in the British Museum, with this note at the beginning: "This book contains Mr James Kirkton's History of his own Times, to the year 1679. He was a person of good understanding, and of a great deal of witt." The other is in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh, amongst the MSS. which belonged to the Rev. Mr Wodrow, author of the History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. None of the three is in the hand-writing of Kirkton, whose history has been followed by Wodrow in his own work with great closeness, and sometimes transcribed verbatim; he acknowledges these obligations, and styles him "a minister of great zeal, knowledge, and learning, a most curious searcher into the natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of Scotland, and a most successful and sententious preacher of the gospel."

The reader will find that Kirkton's History is written with much spirit, and, in spite of the strong prejudices which he had imbibed, frequently with a great degree of candour. And this fragment is valuable, not only as containing various anecdotes of the author's contemporaries, hither unpublished, but as the production of a man once so highly reverenced by his own sect. Besides these Memoirs, [redacted] treatise on Indefinite Baptism, preserved among the MSS., and the Life of the Reverend Mr John Welch.

threw it into the fire; this is attested by all the neighbourhood, being all honest men, that never would make such lies, but still averr it for a truth, that these great wonders were seen about this James Shearer's house, about the middle of May last, 1714 years: as for the judgement that was to fall upon him, it is not as yet accomplished, but is still expected by the neighbourhood to seize upon him, being a man of a lewd life, contending with ministers and people about, especially Mr Foyer, his own minister, he being before Mr Foyer his friend, who afterwards turned his mortall enemy. FINIS."

Wodrow, in one of his MSS., talking of a Scottish Martyrology, which he intended to compile, says, "From papers left by the pious learned and curious Mr James Kirktoune, minister at Edinburgh, who was well qualified, by his diligence and curious enquiries into our Scots antiquities and history, to give accounts of Mr Welch, and the other worthies of that period and since, was published, the History of Mr John Welch, minister at Air, printed at Edinburgh, 1703, in 4to.; but from some inaccuracies, this work could not have had Mr Kirktoune's last hand."

Kirkton's name is not prefixed to this Life, which has been frequently reprinted. Among the Wodrow MSS. also, are two Letters addressed by him, under the name of James Hay, to Mr Robert M'Waird, then in Holland, whom he calls "His brotherlie friend, Robert Long." In the first, which is dated 26th November, 1677, talking of his contest concerning Quakerism with Gideon Scott of Highchester, he says, "You desire to have my reply to him, which, in my opinion, would be of small use, in regard I designed not so much to fall upon materiall questions as to repell cavils, and declyne his comicall and satyricall taunts: besydes that I was much straitened in the length of the paper; but as to citations that may be of use to you in your designe, I mu[illegible] you, that if you have Thomas Hickes against the Quak[illegible] richest treasury of discoveries of these monstrous abomi[illegible] that ever I saw."

To Kirkton's History the editor has deemed it proper to add James Russell's Narrative, preserved among the Wodrow MSS.: it is there entitled an Account of Archbishop Sharp's Murder, but will be found to contain many valuable particulars respecting other events, subsequent to that assassination. Russell's original MS. has been transcribed by some person who could not in many cases

decypher words, and has made numerous blunders as to proper names, which the editor was unable to correct; but these defects are immaterial, while the dark shades of the horrible picture in the first part, and the ridiculous grotesque of clerical squabbles in the latter, are given to the public in faithful preservation.

SERMON,

PREACHED BY MR KIRKTON, ON HEAVEN'S BLISS,

OCTOBER 13, 1698.*

1 *Philip.* 21.—*For me to live is Christ, and to dye is gain.*

THE last observation we made upon our text was, death was gain, and a profitable thing to the people of God. We undertook to prove the point by two reasons; the first reason was, because by death they are delivered from the misery of this life, and of this we have spoken. The second reason we have now presently to handle, and that is, by death they acquire a kingdom of bliss; and by the way I must tell you, Heaven's bliss is far above the miserys of earth: the miserys on the earth are very great in the sense of us all, but they are finit,—Heaven's bliss is not only very great, but it is eter-

* This and the following Sermon were obligingly communicated by Mr David Laing, jun. bookseller in Edinburgh, to whom, as well as to Mr Archibald Constable, the editor is indebted for many similar favours. At first, he was strongly tempted to expunge some objectionable passages, but on consideration retained them; for if mutilated, these discourses would afford no complete specimen of Kirkton's pulpit oratory; and happily the sacred cause of religion cannot be injured by the foolish expressions of some of its unworthy ministers.

nall and infinite; alwayes, before I come to speak of Heaven's bliss, I must give you these four prefaces.

The first is, While we are here upon earth, we understand nothing but what enters by our senses; and therefore the prophets of the Lord, when they come to speak of Heaven, they are constrained to make use of sensible comparisons. They shall rest upon their beds; a bed is very pleasant. They shall go to Paradise; a garden is very pleasant. But this is upon necessitie and not upon choice, for eye has not seen, ear has not heard, what God has reserved for his people in Heaven.

Secondly, My next preface that I shall give you shall be this, The blessings of Heaven are mysterious abstract things, altogether above our imagination and beyond the reach of our understanding. Likewise the Apostle, when he is writing to the Corinthians, 2 Epis. v. 12. says, I saw things which are unspeakable. Translators knows not how to interpret the Greek word, and I will not repeat it to you, for I never spoake it in such a congregation; alwaise in my opinion the meaning of the word is, It is impossible to make you understand the things that I saw in Heaven; why? why? we understand not their language; the blessings that are in Heaven have not a name in our country, and therefore I cannot name them, therefore ye cannot understand them. Now if you will think but upon eternity, which is one of the blessings of Heaven. How think we on it? I'll tell you how we think on it; we cannot fathom it, it is infinite; we cannot grip it, it is not sense; and therefore whenever it enters our thoughts we use even to lett it alone. This is all our meditation upon eternity, and such is our meditation upon the blessings of Heaven, abstract things.

Thirdly, The third preface I shall give you shall be this, There is very little of the bliss of Heaven revealed to us in the world. Many a time I wonder upon this, but I'll tell you what reason I

give for it. I think the Lord knows we are that base, we are rather guided by fear than by hope; if ye read 28 Deut. throwout, ye shall find there is 12 verses of blessings, but there is 48 of curses. Why get we so long a curse, and so few blessings? we need more curses to afflict than blessings to comfort. That is a sad matter; and many people does mistake very much the description of Heaven; when they read the 28 of Isa. and the 22 of Revel. the golden streets and the wall of pretious stones, and no temple and no sun, they think, O it must be very pleasant to be there! and they take that for the joys of Heaven: but it is not so, for that is only the blessedness of the New Testament church on earth. We cannot tell what heaven is: as for hell, it is called a pit, a bottomless pit. Well, that is very sad. Weeping and gnashing of teeth; that is very sad. The devil and his angels; bad company. Fire that shall never be quenched; that is as sad as any of them. That is hell. There is five or six names of it. What is heaven, we cannot find in all the Scriptures. Three names of heaven, 16 Psal. rivers of pleasures, joys for evermore; we can find but little more.

Fourthly, The fourth preface I shall give you shall be, This is the reason we are taken up so little in contemplating heaven. These who are serious spenders of their time, they think upon the way to heaven, and the door of heaven, what shall we do to be saved? and not upon the rooms of heaven, and the furniture of heaven. Truely, in some respects, it is the excuse some people makes, I care not much what the joy of heaven be upon condition I come there, for I know when I come there I will get my fill of joys.

Now I come to speak of Heaven's bliss itself, and before I begin I must tell you this: it is a pittie that any minister in the world should preach on heaven, for he may believe he will mar it; it is a pitiful thing for a man to come and tell you the news, that knows neither the name of the person nor the name of the place, and even

such is our discourse of heaven. We cannot tell what it is; alwaise now I shall be short upon it, and ye shall get what I can gather out of scripture. The bliss of Heaven I make to consist in these four: There is rest in heaven, there is perfection in heaven, there is joy in heaven, there is glory in heaven.

First, There is rest in heaven. What is this we call rest? Truely there is little rest upon earth. We better understand rest when it is absent than when it is present, for in the midst of a man's trouble he understands somewhat what rest is; when a man is weary and when he goes to bed at night, and all his bones aiking for the pain of his body, there is trouble; but where is rest? Truely after the man has slept, and when he has slept well, and when he finds himself refreshed as if he were anointed with a fresh oyll, he says, O how pleasant a thing is rest! we do not understand rest, while upon earth we are in trouble: in heaven we shall have rest; there the wicked cease from troubling, they shall rest upon their beds, Isa. 37. 2. I think truely that is a pleasant thing. Naomie says to Ruth, My daughter, shall I not find rest to thee? that is a sad thing to see you coming out of your father's land with me that is troubled in going up and down the harvest rigs seeking a stalk of barley; that is trouble, my daughter; shall not I seek rest for thee? When she was married to Boaz I warrant you she came to rest, but not till then. They wandered about in sheep skins and goat skins, and they lodged in caves and dens of the earth. Sheep skins and goat skins! wo's me, the goat's skin nearest a man's skin, that is just hair-cloath, which is a tormenting thing. A pitiful torment: wandered about, they durst not lye upon the hill side, they behoved (may be) to travel after they were weary, to go to a cave of the earth, and they thought now we will lye down here and get some rest, we will be secure, the persecutors will not find us out in this hole. Who made their supper ready, who made their bed? nay,

they went to seek rest without either the one or the other. When we come to heaven we shall get rest.

Secondly, The second thing that is in heaven is perfection, no perfection upon earth indeed. But in heaven we shall be perfect. When we are on earth we are perfect; if we go out of ourselves we are perfect in Christ Jesus; but when we come to heaven we will be perfect in ourselves, tho' Christ be the cause of it. Not a wrong word will be spoken in all heaven, there is not one wrong tune; they shall be like the angels in heaven,—what is a man even now? There is in man the understanding; the understanding shall be light. There is in man the will; the will shall be straight, as straight as the law of God. There is in man the affections, what are they? the affections shall be under command, neither to move nor to rest in the body, that is a piece of man that is always strong upon earth, and wots not how to be at ease here. It shall be at rest there: what shall we say? The poor man that has his body full of sores, full of issues, full of leprosie, his body shall be made like the glorious sun in the heavens; there shall be perfection indeed, soul perfect, body perfect, we cannot come to that upon earth. Now go up and down the world and hear two men speaking of a third man; and if they make their discourse long and full, may be they will speak very long upon a man's good properties, truly he is this good and that good, he has this excellency and that excellency, and the other excellency, that is all very good: but if they speak long, I assure you they will come to the weak side of the man, they will be forced to say, but notwithstanding of all his good properties he has this fault and that fault, he is weak, he is poor: The man is not perfect: that is the greatest nonsense in the world to say there is a perfect man, the best man in the world is but half a man; what shall we say, man wherein he exults is somewhat imperfect; who was the wisest man in all the world? King Solomon. But truely,

for as wise as he was, he had some foolish actions, and truely, in some respects, Solomon was one of the greatest fools ever was in the world, a multitude of wifes that carried him away from the true God, after God had revealed himself to him twice. Where was perfection? Solomon was not wise, but when we come to heaven we shall be perfect; nobody in heaven shall cry, O miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? O I cannot bear my cross. O I cannot do my duty. O Lord pittie me. I am a beast before thee. Solomon was a beast. We shall not reckon ourselves so when we come to heaven, we shall not suspect our own hearts for hypocrisie; alace! while we are upon earth we never speak a right word. Believe that never man on earth speaks a right word, but in one of the eight points which are necessary, for the perfection of a performance, he fails; but in heaven he shall be perfect. Lord, help us thither!

Thirdly, The third thing that is in heaven is the joy of heaven, this is even the highest of all the three. Truly there is very little joy upon earth, we are here in the valley of tears. As for the joy that is to be found upon earth, I'll tell you two bad properties it has. The first is, it is ever more imperfect. We want something. We miss something. Where shall I get you an example of joy upon earth? I'll tell you of one in Scripture, I think truly Jacob when he received the news of his son Joseph's being alive and was a great man, and saw the wagons (and I warrant you somewhat more) he was a very glad man. "Let me go down and see my son Joseph, and I will seek no more. O, I will seek no more, I will dye of joy." Was his joy perfect think ye? no, I will tell you how I think it was imperfect. I warrant you he said, O had Rachell been alive to share of this joy, and to seen her son that we thought had been torne into pieces with wild beasts, she would been glad. I warrant you he wanted something, his joy was not perfect. I'll tell

you another bad property of our joy on earth, we have some little joy; but the truth is, the little thing we have of joy uses to run in a man's head, and makes him sometimes mistake himself; it is like strong wine, it makes a man act nonsensically, it makes a man say, as Peter upon the top of the hill, "Let us make here three tabernacles; Peter, what is this come over you now? O I am full of joy." That joy made him drunk. That joy was not perfect, but the joy of heaven shall be perfect; the joy of heaven shall not make us drunk, for indeed this is resolved upon by all divines, the joy of heaven is so strong that except man's spirit were new moulded, and made strong that it may endure strong joy, the wine would burst the casque; and if you would say to me, What will the joy of heaven be? What is the thing in all heaven would make a man most glad? Truly, we shall come to the congregation of the first born, we shall see all the saints in heaven, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and we shall see our friends, and there is many one who says, O if I might see but one of my friends, but an houre or two. Saul says of Samuel, "O that I might see Samuel to comfort me in this hour of my perplexitie!" There is no doubt we will know our friends, there is no doubt we will see our friends, and that will be a piece of our joy; but it will be nothing in regard of this I am going to tell you, we will see the King in his beauty, we will see God as he is, we will understand God as he is; we will love him as we should, we will enjoy him to the full, that is the top of Heaven's joy; upon earth we know not what the love of God is, and if we know the love of God in any measure, we know very little what it is to enjoy God. But in heaven we shall see God; we know not what that is to see God upon earth, and we shall love God in another manner than we do now, we shall be satisfied abundantly. I will not say that all that are in heaven are equall in glory, I never thought that, but I think all that are in heaven shall be satisfied, and fully content. I

think we shall all be like the poor widow's vessals; she filled them all with oyll. She had some vessals of flagons, and some vessals of gallons; the flagon was as full as it could hold, and the vessals of gallons could hold no more, could receive no more either. The people in heaven shall desire no more than they have, there will be in heaven nither pryd, nor envy, nor discontent, (O Lord, if we were there!) O if we were fit for it. Alace! the pleasures of sin are not to be compared with the pleasures of heaven. O blessed, blessed is the man that the Lord takes by the hand, and makes him understand what the difference betwixt the pleasures of sin and the pleasures of heaven. In heaven there are rivers of pleasure.

Then the last point of Heaven's bliss is glory. The glory that is in heaven: What is this we call glory? The glory of heaven is the shining of grace. That is all the description we can give of it. As for glory on earth, I'll tell you what I think of it; I think it is nothing but vanity. Where shall we find glory on earth? Solomon in all his glory. When Solomon is sitting in his royall robes upon his throne of judgement, there he was in glorie. What was his glorie? He sat among a dozen of bones. What think ye of his lions upon the stairs? He had a painted gown upon him, he had a piece of gold upon his head, but what is that to a dying man? When a king is crowned and enters into the possession of his kingdom, so many men goes before him, doing this and that, and the other thing: What is that to you, what is that to your conscience? It is vain; and for that cause, long since, when Christians were baptized, there was never a minister of the primitive church would baptize a Christian that was come to age but he promised to renounce the devil and all his works. Well, do you renounce the world? I renounce the world. Do you renounce the beauty of the world? Yes, I renounce the beauty of the world. Renounce ye all the pomps? Yes, I renounce all pomps, all splendour, all

glory upon earth, it is but vain; but the glory of Heaven is not vain. Every man shone in the graces, &c. Truly, I'll tell you what I think is the beautifullest thing in heaven, it is the humility that is among the people in heaven. What does the saints of God in heaven? There are some of them has more grace than others, but the man who has most grace is even as ready to answer him that has little grace, as he that has little grace is ready to answer him that has most grace, and humility and wisdom are two pleasant companions. I'll tell you what I say more, I think some of us may say, I would be content of half heaven, upon condition God would bring me there, and forgive me my sins, and give me rest and quiet. I think I were well enough, for the perfect joy of heaven becomes not me; when I come to heaven I will be ashamed to set up my face among the saints of God that are there; I am not for their company. Truly, I think a man may think all this, alwaise when we come to heaven we will get humility and wisdom, to bear the glory that is there. What is it? You may even guess, for indeed I cannot tell you. O to be holy as the Lord is holy, and to forsake sin, and to live according to his law! and O to be near to him!— We shall come to heaven in the Lord's own time, and in the Lord's own way, but we cannot tell when our day will come.

FINIS.

A SERMON,

PREACHED IN THE TOLBOOTH CHURCH OF EDINBURGH, ON SEPT. 3, 1699,

BY MR JAMES KIRKTON,

BEING THE LAST SERMON THAT EVER HE PREACHED.

Edinburgh: Printed and sold by John Moncur, at his Printing-House in the Lawn-Market, 1726.

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1 John, 2. 25.—*And this is the promise he hath promised us, even life eternal.*

OUR first observation we made upon this text, was, that it is the common trade of the people of God, to live by the promises, Heb. 11. These all lived by the promises, lived by faith, not having received the promises.

2. Our second observation which we made upon this text, was, that the greatest promise that God has made to poor sinners, is the promise of eternal life. Ye may say to me, there are some promises (I think) are above that. I answer, the promise of eternal life comprehends all the promises in Scripture, the promise of Christ, the promise of the spirit, the promise of grace, and the promise of glory. We entered upon this text, and explained it as we could, and we came to the use, and the use is, O professor! life eternal is promised to you, think you, you will get it? Or will you miss it? Truly if

you miss it, it will be your own fault, God breaks no promise; have you made your salvation sure, through fear and trembling? I fear few of you have done it. How many of you can say to your own consciences, when you are sad, or when you are like to die, I care not when I die, for I know mercy is built for me, I have the key of heaven's gate? This is a strange thing; look out at your window, as Solomon did long since, and you shall see the children of men upon the streets, some running fast, some walking at leasure, some very sad, some very cheerful; you may say to yourself, What are all these people doing? Whither are they going? Some of them are going south, and some of them are going north? But what, are they all walking towards heaven? No, I am going about my business, says one. What to do? To make myself rich, to make myself an easy life, to make myself honourable; that is the business of the children of men, and I fear you may be among them. What are you doing? Are you going to Heaven? Are you going to an appointment with our Lord Jesus Christ? Some are doing that; but O very few. I am making myself rich, you rise early, sits up late, eats the bread of sorrow all the day, and if you miss your reckoning at night, you are very sad; that is the work of the children of men, O fy upon you! Now, before the Lord, of all the wonders that I have concerning the children of men, this is the greatest wonder, that they should neglect their souls, and prefer a temporary life. Sometimes if we heare of a people in a town, that are unthrifty, we will say, no wonder these people die beggars, for never one of them has so much wit as to provide for his family, when he may do it. But what shall we say of people in a town, that all the people dies out of the Lord; that all the people dies in the devil's arms; that all the people dies at the mouth of hell? Well, beloved, what shall we say of you? God knows whether it be so of you or no, I must speak a word upon it; there was among the children of Israel,

long ago, one feast, they called the Feast of Tabernacles, and that was kept in remembrance of their travel through the wilderness: What was it? That day the feast of tabernacles was, every man went up to the top of his house, (for ordinarily they were platform houses,) they dwelt in houses of small branches of trees, and they would not go into a great hall to take their dinner, but they went into their booths and took their dinner, and may be they lay there; would ye not thought it a strange thing for a man to come in among that people, and seen them all the days of the year making preparation for his entertainment, and to take no preparation eight days before the Feast of Tabernacles upon the head of his house, would you not have thought that ill-spent time? But the children of men, that are at pains to prepare for this life, and take no pains to prepare for eternity, they are like this man, and so are many of you, God knows. Alace, alace! it may be said of some of you, as it was said long ago of the children of Israel in the wilderness, they saw many miracles, ten temptations; always God has not given them eyes to see, nor hearts to understand; I am sure the people of Scotland have heard the word, and I will tell you what the note is, that the ministers of Scotland have insisted most on; I'll tell you what it is that the ministers of Scotland are most serious, and most frequent in exhorting their people, I pray you make yourself sure of your salvation before you die; and in England they did it not so much, and in France, and in Germany, and the Low Countries, they did it not so much; but the ministers of Scotland was always upon this strain, try yourself if you be in a state of grace or no; if ye be, well it is, go on; if not, let this be the first work you do. Now, this is the first exhortation of the ministers of Scotland; but whether ye have regarded it or no, God knows, always I say this, try yourselves; and I will say this to my auditory, there are few of you, I believe, if I were going thorow you all, and if I would say

to you all, Whether will you go to Heaven or no? What answer would I get? Yes, I hope I will go to heaven; but will you trust that? The wise man will try before he trust, and so must ye do, and I pray ye do it for the Lord's sake; there is a hope that is of grace, and there is a hope that is false, that is a traitor; beware of the traitor-hope, that ye bring it not into your heart. I must speak a word upon this, and before I come to particulars, I wonder at the people of Scotland, for three reasons, that they should not take pains to make themselves sure of their salvation before they die.

I. I wonder for this reason, your time is short, may be you have very much ado, and therefore you should be busy; How short is your time? many one has gone to the devil (as we used to say) to cast their horoscope, and to get news what death they should die, or what day they should die upon: I will cast the horoscope of all my people now presently, and it shall be out of the word of God; and I'll tell you wherein it consists, it consists in two words.

1. I will assure you your time is short, *Psalm* 39. *Thou hast made my days like an hand-breadth*, that is a very short measure.

2. Next I will assure you your time is uncertain, ye cannot tell when the Lord will come, he will (it may be) come at midnight, the bridal was at midnight, time is short and uncertain; what if such a thing as this were told to you, (as it has been told to many one in the world,) I will assure you, you will die to-morrow, what would you say? I thank God I am to live a night; I wot well I shall be busy this night, and to-morrow, what would you do? I'll tell you what I would do, I would do just the thing Manasseh, a wicked king of Judah, did; What did he? He was sunk under the sense of sin; And what did he? Manasseh humbled himself greatly, that was well done; Manasseh offered many sacrifices, that was well done; Manasseh prayed to God, that was well done; What came of that? Manasseh had lived a wicked life, yet one day of Manasseh's life brought him from death to life; so would it, it may be, be with

you: Now will you take to-morrow? May be you will say as these who were invited to the feast, We have some other thing ado always, your time is uncertain and short.

II. I will give you another reason, it is a sad matter if you make not your salvation sure; for I assure you, 'tis a pleasant thing for a man to be saved; can there be any thing more pleasant, than to tell a man (that has a historical faith) I assure you, you will easily come to heaven, if you put out your hand, you may have it: But what think you of the man that is brought to the threshold of heaven's door, and if he would but knock, it would open to him, and he will not be at the pains to knock; we would say, it is well bestowed he go to hell, and as reasonable it should be so, and so he will. May be it is so with you: How easy it is (you may say to me) for a man to be saved? I'll tell you what I would say, I think it is a pity for me to say this out of a pulpit, I would tell it to a man that were upon his death-bed, I would say you are a very great sinner; yet I would say, if you follow my counsels, you may get your sins forgiven, and you may get your salvation very easy. How easy? I would tell then, but I think I have little heart to tell it just now, and I will tell you wherefore, I fear you will abuse it, always I shall tell you, abuse it as you will, to yourselves be it said, remember what our Lord Jesus Christ said to the man that had the poor sick child, Do you believe that I can help your child? Yes, I believe, Lord help my unbelief; he gave even a sort of a backward answer: Now do ye believe in Christ? That is but a thought, if ye think right ye shall go to heaven. Ye are very angry at Adam and Eve, that came out of paradice so unworthily; ye may as easily go back to paradice, and wo be to you if you do it not.

3. A third reason of my wonder, and it is this, ye are very frequently warned: How many of you has lived beside a neighbour that has died suddenly? O! some will say he was very well this day

eight days, that was a long time; yet I must tell you this of these people that died suddenly, some takes a feaver upon the Monday, dies upon the Wednesday or Thursday, is buried upon the Friday; ye may say he died well for all that, he had time to cry to God for mercy: I will not say but he may get mercy; but I will assure you, for these three or four days before his death, I'll tell you what I say of it, his sickness takes up his mind wholly, weakens his spirit, and he gets no good of that time, he is even as bad as if he had died the first day he took his sickness, always the Lord knows what warnings we get. I have heard of a man that lived a profane life, and he was in the company of a civil man that died suddenly, and after that he said to himself, O! God might have taken away my life, as he has tane this man's life; I am spared, yet my time is very uncertain; therefore, if it please the Lord, I will take pains and prepare myself for death; it shall not overtake me unawares: and I shall tell you this by the way, I have heard of a religious people they called Waldenses, over in Savoy, that are now persecuted; the man that first turned unto that profession and religion, got his religion, not by a note of the preaching, but by the sudden death of a neighbour; how many of these may you see? and yet, may be you are this day where you was this day fourth-night. O fy upon you! eternal life is promised to you; and this shall be the sting of the pain of hell, when you come to hell; this thought will make you sadest of any thought that will come into your mind, I might easily have been in heaven, and I have brought myself here unworthily, by my own misbehaviour, and I was many times told it. Therefore, I say, since life eternal may be had, and may be had easily, and in a very short space, for the love of God be wise: I'll tell you what all of you will say, I have good hopes of heaven, I hope I am secured, come death when it will; well, tho' it be so, that you have the hope of heaven, have you built your house upon a rock? Yes, I hope I

have built my house upon a rock. Now ministers examines their people when they come before them, and they examine them upon this question and that question; but yet I would (if it were not for shame, and for lake of ingenuity among people,) tell you what would be the question I would most ask at them. Whether do ye think ye are going to heaven or no? and what would they answer? Yes, I hope I will go to heaven. What is your reason? And may be they would give me a reason that would make me (if I were as I should be) weep at them, and weep at them so, that my tears should be like rivers: wo is my heart that ye should beguile yourselves; that is not the way to heaven; always I'll tell you what people thinks, there are some that thinks themselves sure of heaven, that shall be beguiled, and I fear ye be among them: I'll tell you five rocks upon which people thinks they build well, and there is none of them will bear a house.

1. I hope I shall get eternal life, I hope I am prepared, because God has made me; I am sure I am the work of the Lord's hands; had the Lord no other thing ado, but to make me a faggot for the fire of hell? Will his wisdom and his goodness make no other use of me but that? I am sure I can say what the Psalmist says, Psal. 138. *Forget not the work of thy hands*; I am sure I am God's handy-work, why will he destroy me? he is full of mercy. Do not trust to this, it is a foundation that will not bear your roof: What cares God for a soul? It is the greatest folly that is in the world, and the greatest spice of self-love I know. O! God has made me, therefore I shall be saved; What cares God for your soul and my soul? He can make a soul of a picle of sand; I'll tell you what I say to these that says, I am God's creature; and therefore I hope he shall never condemn me: Have you never heard tell of the fallen angels? have you never heard of the multitude of devils that are in hell, in the air, and in the clouds? Some says there are as many devils as

there are men; truly I cannot tell how many there are; but did not God make devils? Wherefore did God make devils? Only to be tormented in hell, and their torment is greater than the torment of men: the devils were a while in heaven; how long was the devils in heaven? (I do not love to speak of this.) The greatest scholers in the world says, the devils were not an hour in heaven; why did the Lord make them? O! he made them for his own reasons. Trust not to this, that you were created, may be you were created to be a faggot in hell's fire, Isa. 27. *He that made them will have no mercy on them;* therefore go not to trust upon this, ye must have a better rock for your salvation.

2. There is another rock upon which people builds their house, and that is, Do you hope to be saved? Yes; what is your reason? I am one of the people of God, I have many priviledges, blessed be the Lord, I profess the true religion, I am a christian, I am a professor of the best sort, I ever more sorted myself with the people of God, and when there was a question of the time, whether should ye do this or that, I was always for the right question, and for the good cause: That is very well, always ye shall have my counsel not to trust in this, for all are not Israel that are called Israel; ye know what the Apostle Paul says, I was a Jew, and born a Jew, and lived a very good life, as I thought, but had not the Lord told me that covetousness was a sin, I would have perished eternally; may be ye build upon a sandy bank, upon which Paul found he built before his conversion; think not this, I was all my days a protestant, I was all my days a strict presbyterian; think no thing of that.

3. There is a third rock upon which some people builds, and that is, I thank the Lord for it, I am not only among the people of God, and follows the true profession; but I also have been a fruitful tree unto the Lord, I have done this, and I have done that. And what have you done? what have you done? I have abounded in duties.

Can you say the thing that the Pharisee said? I know nobody that can say the thing the Pharisee said, I fast twice a week. Fast you two days of the week? Make you a private fast twice a week? I know none of my acquaintances does that; so a man may abound in duties, and may have many duties, evening and morning, and be but a Pharisee before the Lord, and never enter into life eternal, but death eternal, that is a sad matter. I'll tell you three duties upon which the people of Scotland think very much.

1. Some of the people of Scotland think very much upon the duty of sacrificing; I wot well the Lord knows I am a sinner, but many a time I have offered a sacrifice, and confessed my sins, and desired the Lord to accept of the blood of Christ, and that is the great sacrifice. Have ye done this? Truly the man that has done it in sincerity, his bread is beaken, and well is he: But I am sure, there are many that have sacrificed to no purpose, Ezek. 9. *It shall be with him that sacrificeth, as with him that sacrificeth not.* Ye have many times made the fashion of sacrificing, but ye shall get no mercy for all that, you sacrificed all wrong; always that is one duty people think too much of.

2. There is another duty that the people of Scotland think much upon, and that is, I have suffered for the Lord; and truly I think this is a very great duty, and blessed is the man that has suffered for the Lord, as many one in Scotland has done: But I must have liberty to say this word, I know none in all Scotland more profane in their lives and conversations than some sufferers, and I know none in Scotland that are nearer hell than some sufferers. Take heed it be not so with you, you may say you suffered, you were in prison, you wandered, never one of you lost your lives; many a one has given their bodies to be burnt, and wanted charity; many of you may come a great length in suffering, and not go to heaven, and therefore you need not be proud of your suffering; and I will

get you some that are very proud of a trifle; how much has some of you suffered? I have heard of a man that has been brought before the court, and fined in a groat; was that a great suffering? It was not worth the naming.

3. A third duty upon which the people of Scotland think very much, is this: I thank God I have not only sacrificed, I have not only suffered, but I have been a praying man all my days. There are many praying people, but O for the lame prayers up and down Scotland! O the base prayers! Some prays in their family once in ten days; some comes home, and prays in their family at night, may be half drunk; these are not right prayers. There are some that are very grave and civil; they can say, Truly these 20 years (I thank God for it) I never mist a morning prayer nor an evening prayer, and therefore I conclude I shall go to heaven. We may say, morning prayer and evening prayer has a resemblance to the two sacrifices of the Levitical law; the priests morning and evening sacrificed. But give me leave to tell you this by the way, I believe there is no man that is guided by the spirit of God, and has the spirit of prayer moving in him, but he is sometimes led to pray at another time than the two hours at morning and evening; and I shall give you an example in Scripture for this. The Apostle Peter was a praying man. When made Peter his prayers? He made his morning prayers about six a clock, and at night about six or seven a clock, but he prayed even at other times of the day: ye will find in Acts 10, Peter went up to the top of the house to pray; what time of day was it? morning or evening? It was at the sixth hour of the day, just at our twelve a clock; now that was not a fit time for prayer, but it was Peter's time. If you be a praying man, you will be made to pray at any time, either when God calls you by an extraordinary dispensation, or when the spirit calls you by an extraordinary motion, any time a day. Now there are

even few can say this, there are many prays but once in the morning, Bless me all day; and in the evening, Bless me all night: I like not that prayer. O fy, how many folk will cry in the day of the Lord, when they are disappointed of their expectation of eternal life.

4. There is a fourth rock upon which many builds, and that is, I hope I shall go to heaven. What is your reason? I am an old man, I am an old woman; God has favoured me, I have lived long, and therefore I hope God loves me. What favour have you received of the Lord? Truly I think I can say as much as David says. David says, Thou hast delivered me from the paw of the lion, and from the paw of the bear; I have been in sickness, and delivered; I have been in debt and prison, and delivered; many tokens of favour have I gotten; and therefore I hope God is my father. Build not upon this rock; read Job 21, and there you may see what common favours God bestows upon the wicked man; there are many that get all these that are hated of God, and therefore build not upon it; indeed if you can say to me, I have seen the face of God, I have nothing to say against that. You will go to heaven; but for outward deliverances, and outward favours, care not for them; for wicked men have received more than ever you did.

Then the last rock that many build upon, with which many beguile themselves; and it is this: I have been under exercise, I have been under doubts and fears; I have not only heard the Word, but I have applyed the Word; and when the minister said, you will not be saved, I said within myself, I fear I shall not be saved. I know not what your hearts will say, but when I have told you of these five false rocks, I shall tell you before I go further, God be merciful to us, poor unworthy ministers, for we have more of these five rocks to plead for our salvation than many; and for duties, we can say this, (as there are many who can say to the Lord,) have

not we preached, and prayed in thy name, (and that is a very great matter,) and cast out devils in thy name? Yet the Lord says, Depart from me, and will cast such into hell; O God, be merciful to us all: and I shall say this for myself, what God will do to me I cannot say here, but I am sure, I have more to answer than any in my congregation, and all ministers have more to answer than their congregations have. Now I say, the last defence is, I have been under doubts and fears, and therefore I hope I shall go to heaven. Truly I love them very well that are under doubts and fears; when a minister comes to a congregation where there is a number of profane people, may be he will hear, that in such and such a house there is a very sore disquiet, and such a man has roused himself up, and the minister says, This, I hope, is a law-work, and I hope a gospel-work will come next; then when the minister comes to try, he finds it is a work of the law, but it never comes to a work of the gospel; and even as sure as the word is true, there are many under the work of the law, and a seeming work like the work of the gospel upon them, that shall never taste of eternal life; they shall taste of the joy of Heaven, but they shall never taste of the life of Heaven; and therefore beware, and say not you shall be saved, because you have been under exercise, Ezek. 33. says, *We pine away in our sins*; many pines away under exercise; got they mercy? Never a word of [illegible]; alace! who shall be saved? None but these that are anxious, [illegible]e but these that are serious, none but them that says, What shall we do to be saved? O! would to God this were the exercise of you all; but I must even say this by the way, I am now an old man, I do not remember that I have seen the people of Scotland under less exercise, and God is witness, and you are witness, that within these ten years there was more exercise in Scotland than there is now; the time was when we heard the word, and lived in private; O fy upon it! And what is there in Scotland just now? A cloud of sins.

O there are many in Scotland, which may make us fear, that the next day, God shall bring a cloud of wrath upon Scotland, and may be you will see it: God knows what he has done to the people of France; they are now galley-slaves, and lying in prisons among dogs and beasts, and vermine, that is a sad life: they had the word among them, but they made not that use they should have made of it. The people of Scotland have gotten a great deliverance, but little fruit is brought forth unto the Lord. I am sure the people of Scotland are guilty of Hezekiah's sin, which was unthankfulness; and therefore the Lord may remove the banquet, because we weary of it, and cannot eat. But I would speak one word, even to them who boads very fair for heaven; and what is that? They have been under exercise; I have been under exercise, and I have been chased to Christ, and therefore I hope I shall be saved; I believe there are many under exercise, and some of you have been under it; but I have three complaints to make on the exercise of the people of Scotland at this time. I'll tell you what they are.

1. The first complaint I have, is, Ye are not sad enough; now I never saw so much wantonness and lightness among the people of Scotland as there is just now; wo is my heart therefore; I have spoken many times my thoughts and my conscience concerning it, to no purpose. There are too many dancing-schools, too much dancing, too much fineness of apparel, alace for it: is not this true? What will God say to you, when you come before him? too much security, too much laughing; we did not understand that exercise before.

2. I'll tell you what I have to say of the exercise of the people of Scotland. As you are not sad enough, so you are not tender enough. Tender! you have not so many scruples as there was, and as a tender christian should have; once there was many scruples in Scotland, but now there are none, except about ministers: But I have

seen when the people of Scotland had great scruples about eating and drinking, and wearing their cloaths, and doing this and doing that; now the Lord knows by what rule many of the people of Scotland walks; I have not will to be particular, but little tenderness now. The gross liver that fears not God, I'll tell you what I have to say of him; he goes to the tavern, and he drinks till he be drunk, and like a beast; no man calls that man a christian or a godly man, or a tender man: But then I will tell you of another, one that is a member of the church; he goes to the tavern, and sits very long, not till he be drunk, and when he comes out nobody can say he is drunk; and if any body ask him, Where have you been? I have been in the wine-house. How long? I have been so long, and so long. O fy, you should not have sitten so long. I am not drunk. I cannot say that, but you have tippled, you have abused the creature, ye are not tender, too little tenderness among the people of Scotland; God knows whether I be speaking true or no.

3. Some are under exercise, doubts and fears, but they are not painful enough; Lord knows what exercise ye have. Do you pray continually? We read of an honest woman in Scripture, that they called Anna; ye know well enough the story of her, poor thing; she lost her husband when she was young; after that she continued in the temple fasting and praying, till she was four score years old (and ye must understand, that the temple was not one chamber, nor one house, but the temple was a house that had a great court built in it, and many chambers built there, and they that were devout and zealous, they took a chamber, and dwelt there;) and how did she spend her time? Night and day she prayed, and heard preaching, and saw the sacrifices; and what came of her? What was her priviledge? She got first a revelation, then she got a vision, then she went to heaven; few of these among us; many gets false revelations. It was revealed to her, that she should not die till she

saw Christ; and what came of it? She saw Christ; few Anna's among us, alace therefore; always what will make the people of Scotland holy? Alace! will a change of government or the change of a king do it? or will a drawn sword do it? God forbid he use these means; but I fear there be a black day coming upon us, because of our behaviour, and little amendment that is to be seen among us.

FINIS.

On the Friday, in the last prayer he had in his family, he had these expressions following:

"O Lord, if the wedding garment be not perfected, if there be but one stitch of it wanting, Lord hasten to perfect it, hasten to perfect it."

After which night he slept, and never spake more, but departed this life on the next Saturday about twelve at night, and no doubt went to everlasting glory.

DEFECTION in a Church useth ordinarily to be attended with silence among the witnesses, so that succeeding ages can hardly have ane account how the gold became drosse, or how the faithfull woman became a harlot. Therefore, having my self been a sad spectator of the lamentable revolutions in the Church of Scotland, I conceived it dutie at least to preserve some memorial of what I hade heard and seen, if happily it might be of any use. Many have desired this might be done: none that I know hath undertaken it. I think, better I had ane imperfect account transmitted than none at all.

But that the darkness of the night may the better be conceived, I think it not impertinent briefly to run over the progresse of the gospel in Scotland, both in its dauning and morning, till at length the Church arrived at the top of her perfection and glory, when her sun went down at noon, and the tyde turned toward defection and lamentable apostacie.

In the first place, then, you most understand, that of all the churches in the western world (except the Saveyards, who never owned the Pope) the Church of Scotland had always lest obligation to, or dependence upon, the Roman bishop. She received the Christian faith a little after the dayes of our Saviour, in the dayes of Domitian (as it is thought) from some of John's disciples, which was by them committed to faithfull men, who were nothing acquainted either with the glory of a hierarchy or man's tyranny over conscience; and was a chast virgin some centuries of years, before she hade the least correspondence with Rome, or ever heard of the notion of a bishop distinct from, or superior to, ane ordinary pastor. These ministers were commonly called Culdees, that is, worshippers of God, discharging the office of ane ordinary countrey pastor,* instructing the people in the simplicity of the gospel; and of them you may find a traditional memorial almost in every village in Scotland. Yea, even when the Pope hade sent Palladius his factor to Scotland to accommodate it to his model, in hierarchy and rites,

* Buchannan roundly asserts, that before the mission of Palladius there were no bishops in theScottish church. "Nam, ad id usque tempus, Ecclesia absque Episcopis per monachos regebantur, *minore quidem cum fastu*, et externa pompa, sed majore simplicitate et sanctimonia."—On the other hand, Hector Boece affirms, that bishops, prior to the arrival of the legate, were elected from the monks and Culdees by the suffrage of the people; and it is very certain, that the Culdees had among them the titles of abbot and bishop, to whatever ecclesiastical stations they then pertained.

(which two are the vitals of the Romish religion) both he and his successors were opposed by these godly men in both the one and the other for many a year thereafter.* And when they hade raised a sort of bishops in Scotland, they were nothing like these in other nations, being only a few itineranes, neither posted in diocess, nor of number or power sufficient to manadge the whole nation, but most of all because they were ordained by ordinary pastors and not bishops: so they seem only to have been bishops in name, and not lords over the Lord's inheritance. However, these primitive teachers continued in authority amongst the people of Scotland till near the fourteenth century; about which time, by the spite of the Pope and the negligence of the King, they were entirely supprest. And than in their place the Lord raised for himself another sort of witnesses in Scotland, who were called the Lollards of Kyle, who, though they differed nothing from other witnesses of these times in any point of doctrine, yet in their national dispensation they differed in this, the true faith was among them, not the blessing of singular persons as elsewhere, but the hereditary possession of several fa-

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* "Palladius was a man most careful in promoting Christian religion, and the first that made Christ be preached in the Isle of Orkney, sending Servanus, one of his disciples, thither. Another, called Tervanus, he employed among the northern Picts, and ordained both of them bishops. His own remaining, for the most part, was at Fordon, in the country of Mernis, where he built a little church, which from him is to this day, by a corrupted word, called Padie Church: there was his corpse, after his death, interred. In the year 1494, William Shevez, archbishop of St Andrews, visiting that church, did, in reverence of his memory, gather his bones, and bestow them in a silver shrine, which, as the report goeth, was taken up at the demolishing of the churches, by a gentleman of good rank who dwelt near unto that place. The people of the country, observing the decay which followed in that family not many years after, ascribed the same to the violation of Palladius' grave."—SPOTTISWOOD'S *History of the Church of Scotland.*

milies, both gentlemen and commons, among whom it was delivered from father to son even till Luther's dayes.*

* This sect, which first appeared in Scotland during the government of Robert, Duke of Albany, is by some authors traced back to the year 1309, when a body of strolling hypocrites, called Lollards, deceived certain women of quality in Hainault and Brabant. Others affirm that Walter Lollard began to preach his errors in Germany about the year 1315; and from him, who was burnt as a heretick at Cologne 1322, it is pretty evident that these enthusiasts obtained their name. The monkish writers, however, derive Lollard from Lolium, a wicked weed sown by the Devil, and condemned to the fire, bringing it nearer the term by a false quantity, *Lollium;* and Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, would discover its origin in the old German word Lollen, to lull, as the Lollards toned out their preachments and chaunted their psalms in a low, drowsy manner. Lord Hailes thinks, that, in modern language, they would have been termed the sect of the humdrums.—(HAILES' *MS.*)

When Lollardism first appeared in England, the bishops were quite at a loss how to describe its tenets. In the year 1387, Henry, Bishop of Worcester, gravely informed his clergy, that these hereticks were followers of Mahomet. Indeed their creed seems never to have been unanimously agreed to, in all its points, by themselves. The German Lollards believed that the damned in hell and the evil angels should one day be saved, while the confession of faith, as presented by the English Lollards to parliament in the reign of King Richard the Second, contains nothing, a few fanatical conceits excepted, but what any good Christian might profess. Some articles in this statement are curious enough; for instance, declaring against the celibacy of the clergy, it is remarked, "delicata cibaria virorum Ecclesiasticorum volunt habere naturalem purgationem;" and, in another place, the Lollards argue, that if all the instruments of our Saviour's passion, such as the nails, crown of thorns, &c. are to be reverenced as relicks, Judas Iscariot's lips should be held in very high veneration.

From the continuation of Fordun we learn, that, in the year 1407, James Resby, an Englishman, and a disciple of Wickliffe, was burnt for Lollardism in Scotland. Among forty of his heretical conclusions were these tenets: "Papa de facto non est Vicarius Christi;" and "Nullus est Papa, nec Vicarius Christi, nisi sit sanctus;" which were enough, of themselves, to destroy him, without the other thirty-eight. His writings on the points of his creed, we are told, "curiose servantur per Lolardos in Scotia."

The next martyr for this cause was Paul Craw, also a follower of Wickliffe and

Than when Luther had begun his reformation, partly by the doctrine and sufferings of that eminent martyr, Mr Patrick Hamiltoun, and partly by the ministry of the Scotish John Baptist, Mr George Wishart,* the people of Scotland were in many places ripened into

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Hus, "a Boheme," according to Knox, "deprehendit in the universitie of Saint Androis, and accusit of Heresie, before suche as then (1431) wer called Doctors of Theologie." At his execution, "they put ane ball of bras in his mouthe, to the end that he sould not gif confession of his faythe to the pepill, neyther yit that thai sould understand the defence which he had against thair injust accusation and condemnation." He proceeds to state, that "in the tyme of King James the Fourt, in the sext yeir of his reignne, and in the 22 yeir of his age, whiche was the yeir of 1494, wer summonit befoir the King and his grit counscill, by Robert Blackeder, callit Archbischope of Glasgow, the number of thirtie personis, remaining some in Kyllestewart, some in Kingis Kylle, and some in Cunninghame: among quhome wer George Campbell of Sesnok, Adam Reid of Barskymminge, John Campbell of Newmylnes, Andro Schaw of Powenmate, Helein Chalmer Ladie Pokelie, Chalmer Ladie Stairs. These wer callit the Lollards of Kyle." He then gives their creed, consisting of twenty-four articles, one of which he himself must have held in utter abhorrence, "That it is not lawful to fight or to defend the fayth." He adds, characteristically enough, "We translate according to the barbarousnes of their Latin and Dytement."

The last article is, "That thai quhilk ar callit Principals in the Kirk ar theifis and rubers," and as such the Lollards seem to have treated their judges at their examination. Adam Reid, who appears to have been the wag of the party, called the archbishop "Churle" and "proud Prelate" to his face. "The King, willing to put an end to farder reasoning, said to the said Adam Reid, Wil thou burne thy bill? He answerit, Sir, and the Bischope and ye will. (N. B. The wit here lies in the rhyme.) With these and the lyk scoffis, the Bischope and his band war so daschit out of countenance, that the grittest parte of accusation was turnit to lauchter."

* The first of these martyrs was by birth a gentleman, and "ane cunning clerk," according to Pitscottie. When still very young, he was made abbot of Ferm, and quickly afterwards imbibed the reformed doctrines. In the year 1527, by the sentence of Archbishop Beatoun, he was burnt at St Andrews, aged about twenty-three years. At his execution the combustibles were so unskilfully arranged, that the flame only scorched his cheek and hand; "than anc baxter, call Myrtoun, ran and gatt his armes full of

a disposition not only to change their own profession, but to endeavour a national reformation; and Providence highly favoured the

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strae, and kest in the fire to kindle it: but thair cam sick ane thud of easterne wind out of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehementlie, that it flew upon the frier who accused him and dang him to the earth, and brunt the foir pairt of his coull; and pat him in sick a fray that he cam nevir in his rycht spiritis againe, bot wandrit about the space of fourtie dayes, and then depairted."—LINDSAY *of Pitscottie's Chronicles.*

As to George Wishart, "who took his flight by a fiery chariot into heaven, and obtained the martyr's crown, 1st March, 1546," we are told by one of his own scholars, that "he was a man of a tall stature, black haired, long bearded, of a graceful personage, eloquent, courteous, ready to teach, and desirous to learn; that he ordinarly wore a French cap, a freize gown, plain black hose, and white bands and handcuffs." At his execution, "the hangman that was his tormentor sat doun upoun his knees, and said, Sir, I pray yow forgive me, for I am not giltie of your deyth; to quhome he answerit, Come hither to me. Quhen he was com to him, he kissit his cheek, and said, Lo, heir is a token that I forgive thee; my hairt, do thy office." KNOX.—He was burnt at St Andrews, after predicting Cardinal Beatoun's death, who beheld his execution from the battlements of the castle. At Wishart's martyrdom, as at Hamilton's, the elements, if we can believe Lindsay, were greatly perturbed: "Than they laid the fire to him, and gave him the first blast of powder, quhilk was verrie terrible and odious to sie, for thair cam so great ane thud of wind out of the sea, and so great ane cloud of raine out of the heavenes, that when the wind and weitt mett togidder, it had sick noyse and sound, that all men wer affrayed that hard or saw it: it had sick force and strenth that it blew down the stone wallis, and the men that satt thereon, to the number of two hundreth persones, quhilkis fell in the bischopis yaird, about the drawwell thairof, and so monie of thame fell thairin, that twa of thame drowned immediatlie, and so thair was sacrifice both of fyre and watter."

Though the Cardinal and the other priests treated Mr George with extreme rigour, it must be confessed that some of his assertions were highly contemptuous and irritating; for he was accused of affirming, "that holie watter was not so gude as wasche (urine), and that a priest standing at the altar, saying mess, was lyke a fox wagging his taill in Julie;"—the latter simile, however, he attempted to qualify, by declaring he only said, that "the moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the hairt, is nocht ells but the playing of ane ape, and not the trew moving of God."

design, for the nation was at that time under the government of Mary of Lorrain (ane egge of the bloody nest of Guise) and a stranger; she was neither beloved nor feared, and the first woman that ever governed Scotland, who, to the discontent of the people, had intruded her self into that office,* to the prejudice of the lawfull governour, which seemed to be a contrivance of Providence; for under her weak government, the reformed religion made such progress, that not only multitudes of the common people, but also of the gentrie, and chiefly of the nobility, thereof made publick profession. Thereafter, when the multitude of professors found themselves both numerous for multitude, and considerable for quality, their next care was to provide themselves of pastors. Whereupon, by their solemn invitation, that blessed instrument, Master Knox, returned from his unjust exile into his native countrey, to perfyte publickly what he hade formerly essayed privately, and most welcome he was to all that knew him.† Immediately upon his arryvale,

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Between these executions of Hamilton and Wishart, several hereticks had been put to death at Edinburgh by "the Cardinal, the Chancellar, the Bischope of Glasgow, and the *incestuous* Bischope of Dumblane;" and at Perth, "war a grit number of honest men and women callit befoir the Cardinal, accuisit of heresie; and albeit thai could be convict of nothing, but onlie of suspicioun that thai had eitten a gus upoun Fryday, four men war adjugit to be hangit, and a woman to be drownit, quhilk cruell and maist injust sentence was without mercie put in executioun: the housband was hangit, and the wyf having a souking babe upoun hir breist, was drownit." Knox. —Spottiswood informs us that the woman had refused to invoke the virgin, during her travail, and that three of the men, besides eating the goose, were convicted of having outraged the image of St Francis, by fixing "two ram's horns to his head, and a cow's tail to his rump!"

* "Sche was made regent in the yeir of God, 1554, and a croun put upoun her heid; als seimlie a sicht, gif men had eyes, as to put a saidill upoun the back of ane unrewlie cow."—Knox's *Historie, Lib. I. p.* 89.

† A pretty just estimate of this reformer's political morality may be formed from a

he repaired to Perth, being at that time a very zealous town for the reformed religion; and his first essay was a fervent sermon against the idolatry of the Romish church. The Romish clergy hearing this, immediately after he hade done a priest entered the church, and, to counterwork Mr Knox, would needs say masse in the most splended manner, and thereupon opens a great armory full of glorious images, that their splendor to the eye might efface what Mr Knox hade wrought by the ear. But he was strangely disappointed, for there was amongst the spectators ane inconsiderable young boy, who, from the effect of the sermon, in the zeal of his spirit threw a stone into the armory and broke one of the images. This indeliberate act kindled the flame, which consumed popery in Scotland very speedily; for the priest falling upon the boy and the people upon the priest, the tumult increased, till the common people had without counsel destroyed all the frier's houses, and all the

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passage in one of his letters to Sir James Crofts, representing the great importance to the congregation of speedy aid from England, without which the meditated attack upon the fortifications of Leith was likely to prove abortive; the court of England, he observed, ought not to hesitate at offending the French, of whose hostile intentions against them they had the most satisfactory evidence; but "if ye list to craft with thame, the sending of a thousand or mo men to us can breake no league nor point of peace contracted betwixt you and France: for it is free for your subjects to serve in weir anie prince or nation for their wages; and if yee fear that such excuses will not prevail, ye may declare thame rebelles to your realme when ye shall be assured that thai be in our companye."—This is plain enough; and it is remarkable that in his history, mentioning a trick exactly similar, he takes occasion to snarl, after his usual manner, at the faithless politicks of crowned heads:—"The sure knowledge of the trubilles of Scotland cuming to France, (1549,) thair was prepaired ane navye and armie; the navye was such as never was seen to cum fra France—how sone so evir they tuke the plaine seyis, the read Lyoun of Scotland was displayed, and they haldin as rebellis unto France, (*such policie is no falshoode in princes,*) for gude peice stude betwix France and Ingland."

monuments of idolatry about that town. This happened May 11, 1559. This was the beginning of Scotland's cleansing the temple, and this example was quickly followed in most other towns through the kingdome, and upon these waters the Lord laid his foundation, whatever the lawyers may say.

However, this offended the Queen Regent, so that she presently gathers her army to destroy Perth; and because there was never one parasite divine to condemn defensive arms at that time, the Protestant lords judged it their duty to preserve their brethren from destruction. So they take arms also, and at Couper-moore both armies mett. The protestants were above the papists both for unity, courage, and number; so the business was composed by a sort of extorted treaty, wherein the regent promised not only indemnity for what was passed, but full liberty for the reformed religion in all time coming, and so the armies dissolved. Treaties extorted by arms use soon to expire, and the regent keept her engagement so very unfaithfully, that the reformed nobility found themselves oblidged that same harvest to suspend her from her government, after which, within a little she left this life, and the kingdome of Scotland in great confusion.* And though at that time Mary, heretrix of

* Knox gives an amusing account of the Queen Regent's joy, a little while previous to her death, (tho' about that time "began her belly and loathesome leges to swell,") at sight of the discomfiture of her enemies, attempting to assault the town of Leith, "where the Frenche mens harlotis, of quhome the maist parte war Scotis huris, did no less cruelties than did the souldiours; for besyed that thay charged thair pieces, and ministrate unto thame uther weaponis, sum continewally cast stones, sum caryed chimneyis of burning fyre, sum brocht timber, and uther impediments of weicht, quilk with gret violence they threw over the wall upoun our men, bot especially quhen they began to turne their backes—the Quene Regent sat at the tyme of the assault (quhilk was bothe terribill and lang) upoun the foir wall of the castell of Edinburgh, and quhen sche perceaved the overthrow of us, sche gave ane gawf of lauchter, and said, Now

Scotland, was also Queen of France, being married to the French king, which was a great accession to her power; yet, so formidable were the protestants in Scotland, that they obtained from the French king and Scotish queen a liberty to conveen in parliament, wherein Pope and popery were almost unanimously condemned, and the reformed religion established in the place of it.

Then began the few reformed ministers in Scotland, neither by order from king nor parliament, but from the authority the Lord hade given them in his word, and the example of the ancient persecute church, to constitute themselves in a judicatorie. And though they were but twelve in number, yet so publick was their spirit, they would needs undertake the whole nation for their paroche, and

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will I go to the mes, and prays God for that quhilk my eyis have seen; and so was Frier Black ready for that purpois, quhome sche herself a litell befoir had deprehended with his harlotte in the chapell. Bot huredome and idolatry agrie weill together, and that our court can witnes this day, the 16 of May, 1560." In a MS. of Knox's history, now belonging to the library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, is a copy of verses on this Friar Black, which affords an excellent specimen of the satirical poetry of the reformers. It is inserted, after the above passage respecting the queen, by the transcriber of the MS., who notes in the margin; "This added by Thomas Wood, quhilk I hard, though not mentioned by Mr Knox. 'Of this blak frier was these verses written, because he was born in the Blackfriers in Edinburgh, and was a man of black personage, called Black to his name, and ane of the orders of Black friers.

"There was a certaine blak frier alwayes called blak,
And this was no nickname, for blak was his wark,
Of all the blak friers he was the blakest clark
In the Blak friers borne, to a blak wark;
He hyred a blak hussie to wash his blak sark,
Committing with the blak hussie black fornicatioun.
Blak was his soull to shut at such a blak mark,
This blak frier, called Frier Blak, black was his occupation."

not betake themselves to so many private congregations, there to lurk; and thereupon they canton'd Scotland into 12 parts, according to the number of the ministers, appointing each man to his heavie charge. Also, at their first meeting, they framed a sort of confession of faith, (which was rather opposed to atheism than popery) which was afterward confirmed in parliament. Likewise, also they agreed upon a sort of church government, accommodate to the present scarcitie of pastors, till the church should be provided of fixed ministers in every congregation, wherein they might better look to particulars.

Within a little time the queen became a widow, and returning into Scotland, married her cousine Henry Stewart, and thereafter bare her son K. James, in the year 1566, who was afterward crowned in his infancy, and bred in the true religion. If Queen Mary had keept the crown, she might have done much to smother the Reformation in its infancy, but her unhappy marriages were much for the advantage of it; for, first, her shamefull amours with Bothwell in her husband's time, and than the lamentable death of the king her husband, of which the whole world accused her, and thereafter her marriage with Bothwell, either the murtherer or executioner, made both her person and government so hatefull, that she was turned out, and the government settled upon her son.* This infant king,

* The inflexible spirit of the ministers towards Marie and her son is strongly marked by an event which took place at Edinburgh, after sentence of death had been pronounced upon the queen by her sister of England. "James, *to manifest his natural affection*, commanded the salvation of his mother, both as to body and soul, to be prayed for in all religious assemblies; and also appointed a particular day of fasting and prayer, commanding Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews, to officiate in St Giles's church. But the ministers perched up in the pulpit a young fellow, one John Couper; upon which the king exclaimed, 'Master John, that place was designed for another, yet, since you are there, do your duty, and obey the charge to pray for

at his coronation, engaged by proxy to maintain the true religion, and indeed, all the time of his minority, under the government of the four regents, Murray, Lennox, Marr, and Mortoun, the reformed religion prospered and spread her root and branches mightilie, yea, even for a short while after he hade taken the government in his own very young hand, the gospel hade course and flourished; for besides, that, in consideration of the defects in the first confession of faith, the Church hade most deliberately embraced the Helvetic confession, (excepting only the article of holy dayes) because that confession was pure and full, it was thought necessary to adde ane other in form of ane oath, wherein popish errors were abjured, and the present religion and government were asserted and confirmed, not only by oath, but subscription. The church received the Helvetic confession in the year 1566. And the king sware and subscribed the small confession of faith, together with all his court, in the year 1581: the authentick instrument is yet in a private library in Scotland, as I have seen. But all the time betwixt these two notable events, the godly ministry advanced their business without impeachment or interruption from the civil powers, the regents being

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my mother.' Couper replied, 'that he would speak no otherwise than as the spirit should direct him;' and beginning to pray in his own manner, with a shower of scriptural nicknames upon the poor queen, "The king's majesty commanded him to stop; whereupon he gave a knock on the pulpit, using an exclamation in these terms: 'This day shall bear witness against you in the day of the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh! for the last of thy plagues shall be the worst.' After having uttered these words, he passed down from the pulpit, and, *together with the whole wives in the kirk*, removed from the same. Immediately the Bishop of St Andrews went up to the pulpit, and preached a sermon concerning praying for princes, whereby he convinced the whole people who remained in the kirk, that the desire of the king's majesty to pray for his mother was most honourable and reasonable."—MOYSES' *Mem. p.* 115. SPOTTISWOOD, *p.* 354. SANDERSON, *p.* 120.

friends, and the young king unable. All this time there was no church judicatorie in Scotland, but only the national assembly, which ordinarily mett twice a-year, and as for particulars through the countrey, they were dispatched by their visitors and superintendents; and though these last are alleadged by some to have been bishops, certain it is they hade neither the name nor the charge, nor yet any ordination save that of ordinary ministers; and for their power they were so far from dominion, that they were subjected to the command and censure of the meanest minister in all the church.

But a very little after King James had taken the government in his own hand, he began to shew another spirit; for, first, either by persuasion, or for favour to the Stewarts of Lennox, his popish cousins,* he endeavoured the introduction of bishops, to the great disturbance and damnage of the church, (but of these bad counsellors the Scotish lords made themselves quickly rid at Ruthven-road, as it was called,) and than thereafter in the time of Captain James Stewart, (as he was called) he resumed the same design, persisting in his purpose, but was still crossed by the same hands at the road of Stirling, till after so many checks, and being forciblie sequestrate from his pernicious flattering counsellors, he was at length perswaded for a time (perchance from fear) to goe along with the godly ministrie in advanceing the work of the gospel. This course he followed some years, and was in such fair terms with Master Robert Bruce, that he recommended Scotland to his care, when he himself

* Esme, Duke of Lennox, the only amiable favourite that James ever adopted, was driven from Scotland by a faction pretending to believe him a papist, an emissary of Rome, and guilty of concealing a certain desk, or coffer, covered with green velvet, which had belonged to the Earl of Bothwell, and contained the proofs of Darnley's murder. The King bewailed the loss of his favourite in a lamentable poem called the Phenix, and ever after regarded his family with almost paternal tenderness.

travelled into Denmark to bring home his Queen Anne.* It was indeed observed there was more peace and less disorder that one year in which the king was absent, than hade been any year prece-

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* The king and Mr Robert were not always on such amicable terms: Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, in his "Burden of Issachar," (printed 1646) informs us that "it is to this day remembered, when Master Robert Bruce came from his visitation in the west or south, returning to Edinburgh, and entering by the Canon-gate, King James looking out at his window in his palace at Halirude House, with indignation, (which extorted from him an oath) said, 'Master Robert Bruce, I am sure, intends to be king, and declare himselfe heire to King Robert the Bruce." At another time, wishing to recall the three banished lords, Angus, Huntley, and Errol, James attempted to gain the consent of Master Robert, who possessed more power in Edinburgh, through his command of consciences, than the sovereign himself. Being ushered into the king's bedchamber, James opened unto him his views upon the English crown, and his fears lest the papists in Scotland, of whom these lords were the chief, should contrive to join with their brethren of England, and raise obstacles to his succession. He continued, "Doe you not think it fit that I give them a pardon, restore them to their honour and lands, and by so doing, so gain them, that thus I may save the effusion of Christian blood?" To this demand, so piously made, the answer was, 'Sir, you may pardon Angus and Arroll, and recall them; but it is not fit, nor will you ever obtain my consent to pardon or recall Huntlie:' To this the most gracious king sweetly replyed, 'Master Robert, it were better for me to pardon and recall him, and not the other two, then the other two without him; first, because you know he hath a greater command, and is more powerfull than both of them; secondly, next you know I am more assured of his affection to me, for he hath married my deare and neare kinswoman, the Duke of Lennox his sister;' his rejoyner was, 'Sir, I cannot agree to it." The king desiring him to consider of it, dismissed him; but when sent for once more, Master Bruce still continued inexorable: "I agree with all my heart,' said he, 'that you recall Angus and Arrol, but for Huntlie it cannot be;' the king resumed, and repeated his reasons before mentioned, and added some more, he obstinately opposed and contradicted it: all doe know, who knew any thing of these times, that Angus and Arrol were as bigot papists, if not more, then Huntlie: there was no difference in religion: the truth is, Master Bruce was a lover of the Earl of Argyle, who loved not much the Earl of Huntlie; this was the spirit inspired him, as it seemeth. King James desired his rea-

ding, though Mr Bruce was only watchman, and not civil judge; which moved the king upon his return, and in presence of the General Assembly, not only highly to commend the purity and beauty of the Scotish church, but also in comparison to preferr it to all others, especially to the English church, which he censured as mungrel and half popish. Yea, in so good ane humor he was, that he straitly charged them to be constant, promising to be ane example to them all. But this calm lasted not long, for when the Church seemed to be in her flower, and hade established her government, condemned episcopacie, and renewed the covenant with the Lord, in the year 1596, King James of a sudden resumed his old project of establishing abjured bishops in Scotland, which he never forsook till he brought it to pass. It cost him indeed great pains to get ministers designed commissioners for parliament, and thereafter visitors of the countrey, yet at length being made King of England, and in condition to compell Scotland, he perswaded a few unworthy men to perjure themselves, and after their episcopall consecration by the English bishops in England, to exerce that odious office in Scotland against their own oath and the consciences of their brethren; this was done in the year 1610, full fifty years after the reformation from popery. But because the introduction of bishops had mett

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sons; he gave none, but spoke majestically; then the king told him downright, 'Master Robert, I have told you my purpose: you see how nearly and highly it concerneth me: I have given you my reasons for my resolution, you give me your opinion, but you strengthen it not with reasons; wherefore I will hold my owne resolution, and doe as I first spoke to you;' to the which, with christian and subject-like reverence he returned this reply, 'Well, sir, you may doe as you list, but chuse you, yee shall not have me and the Earle of Huntlie both for you.' Judge by this, in what case monarchie is in such a government; for that this is truth, I am as much assured of as moral certaintie can assure any man of morall truth, which with his own eares he hath not heard; and yet this man was but minister of Edinburgh."

with great opposition, they could not be established but with great violence, for of the best ministers in Scotland some were condemned to die, some were banished, some called into England upon friendly pretences, and never suffered to return, though never so much as accused of a crime; but this was the first watering of that place. However, so just was King James, that to recompense the flattery of the English bishops, in their extolling his power and changeing his coronation oath, he was content in his old age to make a troublesome voyage into Scotland, there to establish the English ceremonies in worship, as he had formerly established the English government by bishops. So in a corrupt assembly at Perth, he first got his five hated articles concluded, and thereafter enacted in parliament at Edinburgh in the year 1621. This parliament was alwayes by common consent called the Black Parliament, not only because of the grievous acts made therein, but also because of a number of dismal ominous prodigies which attended it, the vote it self which accomplished the design of the meeting being accompanied with horrible darkness, thunder claps, fire, and unheard tempest, to the astonishment of both parliament and city, as was observed by all. The bishops hade procured all the dissatisfied ministers to be discharged the town, so diverse of them upon the last day of the parliament went out to Sheens, near Edinburgh, where in a friend's house they spent the day in fasting and prayer, expecting the event, of which they were as then uncertain. After the aged ministers had prayed in the morning with great straitning, at length a messenger from the city, with many tears, assured them all was concluded contrary to their request. This brought them all into a fitt of heaviness, till a godly lady* there present desired Mr David Dickson, be-

* From "Memorable Characteristics, &c. collected by the famous Mr John Livingstone, minister at Ancrum," we learn that this *godly lady* was Elizabeth Melville,

ing at that time present, might be imployed to pray, and though he was at that time but a young man, and not very considerable for his character, yet was he so wonderfully assisted and enlarged for

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wife to the Laird of Culross. Livingstone's biographical sketch, which his editor thought fit to curtail, is subjoined from a MS.:—" Elizabeth Melvill, Lady Culross, the daughter of the Laird of Hahill, who professed he had got assurance from the Lord that himself, his wife, and all his children should meet in heaven. She was famous for her piety and for her dream anent her spiritual condition, which she put in verse, and was by others published. Of all that ever I saw she was most unwearied in religious exercises, and the more she attained of access to God therein, she hungred the more. At the communion of the Shotts, June 1630, when the night after the Sabbath was spent in prayer by a great many Christians in a large room where her bed was, and in the morning all going apart for their private devotion, she went into the bed, and drew the curtains that she might set herself to prayer. William Rigg of Adderney coming into the room, and hearing her have great motion on her, although she spoke not out, he desired her to speak out, saying there was none in the room but him and her woman, as at that time there was no other; she did so, and the door being open, the room filled full; she continued in prayer with wonderfull assistance for large three hours tyme."

Her dream, mentioned by Livingstone, is a poetical effusion, the first edition of which was published in thin quarto, with this title, " Ane Godlie Dreame, compylit in Scotish Meter, be M. M. Gentlewoman in Culross, at the Requeist of her Friendes. Introite per angustam portam, nam lata est via quæ ducit ad interitum. Edin: Printed be Robert Charteris, 1603." The following extract may suffice as a specimen of the " gentlewoman in Culross" muse, being the moral of the tribulations she endured in her dream:—

" Thocht waters greit do compas yow about,
Thocht Tirannes freat, thocht Lyouns rage and roir,
Defy them all, and fier not to win out,
Zour guyde is neir to help zow ever moir.
Thocht prick of iron do prick zow wonderous soir,
As noysum lusts that seek zour saull to slay:
Zit cry on Christ, and hee sall go befoir,
The neirer heaven, the harder is the way.

the space of two hours, that he made bold to prophesie, that from that discouraging day and foreward the work of the gospel should both prosper and flowrish in Scotland, notwithstanding all the laws made to the prejudice of it.* And accordingly it came to pass, for

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" Rejoyce in God, let nocht zour courage faill,
Ze chosen Sancts that ar afflictit heir:
Thocht Satan rage, hee never sall prevaill,
Fecht to the end, and stoutlie perseveir.
Zour God is trew, zour blude is to him deir,
Feir nocht the way since Christ is zour convoy:
Quhen clouds ar past, the weather will grow cleir,
Ze saw in teares, but ze sall reap in joy."

At the end of the book is " a comfortabill song to the tune of *Sall I let her go?*"

* " Mr David Dickson was a man singularly endowed with an edifying gift of preaching. While suspended from his cure for non-conformity, many Christians in the west were earnest with God for his return, and amongst the rest Margaret Campbell, a godly woman in Irvine, got repeated assurances of it in prayer. Extraordinary power, and singular movings of the affections had accompanied his parting sermon. At his examination before the prelates, Archbishop Spottiswood called him knave, swinger, a young lad, and said he might have been teaching bairns in the school: Thou knowest what Aristotle saith, said he, but thou hast no theology. While at Irvine, multitudes were convinced and converted, so that people, under exercise and soul-concern, came from every quarter about Irvine, and attended his sermons, yea, not a few came from distant places, and settled at Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his ministry; yet he himself observed that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr Welch's time. By his week-day sermons the famous Stuarton sickness (as it was called) was begun about the year 1630, and spread from house to house for many miles in the valley, where Stuarton water runs. Satan indeed endeavoured to hing a reproach upon such serious persons, as were at this time under the convincing work of the spirit, by ruining some, seemingly under serious concern, to excess, both in times of sermon, and in families." *Vide Scots Worthies, and* LIVINGSTONE'S *Characteristics.*—Dickson afterwards signalized himself greatly among the Covenanters during the grand rebellion, and died in the year 1662, declaring that he

within three years began that wonderfull exercise of conscience amongst the people in Stewarton paroch, and divers other places, which was a dispensation both strange and new amongst the people of Scotland. The poor people, purely from conscience, were seased with such ane apprehension of God's wrath, and fear of eternal damnation, because of their sins, that rest they could have none. This they were able to demonstrate to be no melancholy fancy, but a rational apprehension of their real danger, being at that time both ignorant, profane, and absolutly strangers to Jesus Christ, by whom they could have neither hope of mercy, nor title to salvation, and this was beyond the reply of any divine. Than when by godly ministers (especially Mr Dickson, their neighbour) they were directed to the performance of these duties which accomplish conversion from Satan to Christ, their peace became as strong as their terror had been troublesome, and was followed with works worthy of ammendment of life, to the wonder of many, and the example of some.*

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was certain Jesus Christ would not put up with the indignities against his work and people. " I have taken," added he, " all my good deeds, and all my bad deeds, and have cast them together in a heap before the Lord, and have fled from both to Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace."

* The reverend Mr Robert Blair, in the Memoirs of his own Life, makes mention of " the people of Stewarton, a parish in Cunningham, where the Lord had a great work in converting many. Numbers of them were at first under great terrors and deep exercise of conscience, and thereafter attained to sweet peace and strong consolation. I preached often to them in the time of the college vacancie, residing at the house of that famous saint, the Lady Robertland, and had much conference with them, and profited more by them than I think they did by me, though ignorant people, and proud secure livers, called them *The daft* (i. e. mad) people of Stewarton. Mr Robert Boyd (of whom I have formerly made mention) came from his house in Carrick to meet with them, and having conferred with both men and women, he heartily blessed God for the grace of God in them. The Countesse of Eglintoune did much coun-

After this King James did little more in Scotland. He died within four years of this parliament, in the year 1625. A king he was both of a publick and private character. The courtier laughs when he reads the historian's description of a king whom he knew. He was certainly a prince of excellent endouments,—learned, for which he was beholden to Buchanan; reserved, which he learned from his difficult society and court in his youth. Many princes make religion only ane ornament of policy. English writers complain, that for his religion he was so modest, he could have denyed the half of his own, so he might agree with Rome, but for his prerogative he was so peremptory, he reckoned it blasphemy to dispute the king's power, and both these he professed before the English parliament. Except his swearing, he was judged innocent of these personal vices which reign in princes. He mightily enlarged the prerogative, abridged the power of the nobility, but enriched the merchant: and, above all, the puritane found the sting of his spirit. And though he spent more of his time upon the establishment of bishops in Scotland than any other design in the world,

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tenance them, and persuaded her noble lord to spare his hunting and hawking some dayes to confer with some of them, whom she had sent for to that effect. Her lord, after conference with them, protested that he never spoke with the like of them, and wondered at their wisdom they manifested in their speech. As many of them as were able to travel went to the Monday mercat of Irvine with some little commodities, such as they had: but their chief intention was to hear the lecture that ended before the mercat began, and by their example many of that parish (their minister encouraging them to it) and out of other parishes went thither, whereby the power of religion was spread over that part of the countrey. I bless the Lord that ever I was acquainted with that people, and for the help I had by interchanging letters with blessed Mr Dickson, after he left the college. Hereby I was helped to releive, according to my power, them that were in need, and to sympathise tenderly with such as I knew to be tempted and lying under heavy pressures of conscience, whereby I still learned more of the wicked wyles of Satan and of the blessed wayes of God."—BLAIR'S *MS. Memoirs.*

yet did he never eat the fruit of that tree, bishops never having the honour to doe him one penny-worth of service. It may be, he hade grief to hear of Bishop Nicholson's death-bed despair, and shame to hear how Spotswood hired a whore with the king's jewel given him when in royal favour.* Honour from them he never hade, being himself constrained to excuse the bishops' baseness, from his own necessity, having none else to choise; and, last of all, they were his son's overthrow, so unprofitable use many times ambitious designs to be both to contrivers and abettors.

But upon this youth of the Scotish church I must passe a remark or two before I leave it, and truely, whatever the nation or countrey be, the dispensation of the Church of Scotland hath been singular among the churches. And, first, it is to be admired, that whereas in other nations the Lord thought it enough to convert a few in a city, village, or family, to himself, leaving the greater part in darkness, as it was in France and Poland, or perchance the magistrate and greater part of the people, as it was in Germany, the Low Countreys, and in England, in Scotland the whole nation was converted by lump; and within ten years after popery was discharged

* "Mr James Nicholson, being stricken with sickness of body, and seized with melancholy of mind and horror of conscience, could get no rest. Physicians being brought, he told them his trouble was of another kind, for which they could give him no cure; for, said he, the digesting of a bishoprick hath racked my conscience. I have, against much light, and over the belly of it, opposed the truth, and yielded up the liberties of Christ to please an earthly king. And so, in great horror of conscience, he made his exit, August 1609."—*God's Justice exemplified in his Judgements upon Persecutors*, &c. In the same work Spottiswood is termed "an adulterer, a simoniac, a drunkard, tippling in taverns till midnight, a profaner of the Lord's day, by playing at cards and jaunting through the country, a falsifier of the acts of assembly, a reproacher of the national covenant," &c. but there is no mention of the king's jewel.

in Scotland, there was not in all Scotland ten persons of quality to be found who did not profess the true reformed religion, and so it was among the commons in proportion. Lo! here a nation born in one day, yea, moulded into one congregation, and sealed as a fountain with a solemn oath and covenant: this was singular. Ane other particular in the Scotish dispensation was the quality of their ministers. Though a stranger may perchance suspect or doubt, yet what I write I write from certain knowledge and in conscience of the truth. Such men have rarely been found in the Christian church since the primitive times. There was among them Mr Knox, who hath hade indeed the common lot of glorious instruments, for, while alive, he was persecute and maligned,* and after

* While Knox was busy in his reproofs of Mary's pretended incontinence, and scrutinizing the real disorders of one of his own sect, Paul Methven, minister in Jedburgh, whose maid-servant "had borne a chylde, no father to it culd sche find, bot alleged hirself to have been oppressed lait in ane evening," (KNOX's *Hist.*) he himself was reported to be guilty of the like crimes. The following extract is taken from the records of the town-council of Edinburgh :—

"18*mo Junii*, 1563.—The samyn day, in presence of the baillies and counsele, comperit Jhone Gray, scribe to the Kirk, and presentit the supplicatione following, in name of the haill Kirk, bering, that it was laitlie cummen to thair knowledge bi the report of faythfull bretherin, that within thir few dayis Eufame Dundas, in the presence of ane multitude, had spoken divers injurious and sclandarous wordis baith of the doctrine and ministeris: and in especiall of Jhonne Knox, minister, sayand, that within few dayis past, the said Jhonne Knox was apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogye with ane commoun hure; and that he had bene ane commone harlot all his dayis. Quhairfore it was maist humblie desyrit, that the said Eufame myt be callit and examinat upone the said supplicatione, and gif the wordis abone written, spoken bi hir, myt be knawin or tryit to be of veritie, that the said Jhonne Knox myt be punist with all rigour without favour: otherwyse to tak sic ordour with hir as myt stand with the glory of God, and that sclander myt be takin from the Kirk: as at mair length is contenit in the said supplicatione. Quhilk beind red to the said Eufame, personallie present in judgement, scho denyit the samyn, and Fryday the 25 day of

death hath been traduced as every way base, though he was indeed a gentleman, ane university man of great learning, but greater piety, prudence, and, most of all, eminent he was for the blessing which attended his ministry. He hade the honour to beget his native countrey to the Lord intirely, and, before he died, he saw the Church of Scotland not only established, but flowrishing in holiness and righteousness in spite of all opposition. His providences were miraculous, his speeches prophetical; and those who would not believe his instructions, found the truth of his comminations verified to their cost, as the brothers of Lethingtoun may well testifie to the world, though the one scoffed him, the other libelled him: but his name shall be savory in everlasting remembrance. Another eminent man was Mr John Davidson,* excellently learned, eminently

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Junii, instant, assignet to hir to here and see witness producit for proving the allegiance abone expremit, and scho is warnyt apud acta."

* "Mr John Davidson, minister at Prestonpans, who in several particulars shewed that he had somewhat of the spirit of prophecy. He told Mr John Ker, when he was going in a scarlet cloak as a courtier, that he behoved to succeed him in the ministry at Prestonpans, which accordingly came to pass. One time being moderator of the provincial synod of Lothian, at Tranent, wherein Mr John Spottiswood, minister at Calder, and Mr James Law, minister at Kirkliston, were to be censured for playing at the football on the Sabbath-day, he urged that they might be deposed, but the synod agreed not thereto, and when they were called in, he said, 'Come in, ye pretty football men, the synod have ordered you only to be rebuked.' And turning to the synod, he said, 'And now, brethren, let me tell you what reward ye shall get for your lenity: these two men shall trample on your necks, and on the necks of the ministry of Scotland.' And thereafter Spottiswood was first Bishop of Glasgow and after of St Andrews, and Law Bishop of Glasgow, and both did much mischief. At another time, he and Mr Robert Bruce dyning with a bailly of Edinburgh, he foretold that that bailly would carry them both to prison, which accordingly came to pass."—*Memorable Characteristicks, &c. by the famous Mr* JOHN LIVINGSTONE, *some Time Minister of the gospel at Ancrum, MS.*

See also *Biographia Scoticana*, *Apologetical Relation*, and CALDERWOOD *passim*.—

pious, and endoued with the spirit of prophesie. The savour of his piety, and admiration of his gift of prophesie, are even till this day fresh among the people of that countrey where he lived. He was the salt of the Church of Scotland both in the pulpit and judicatories, both for zeal and constancy, and died a sufferer under King James, notwithstanding all the respect the king professed to have for him. There was also among them Mr John Welch,* who has indeed left clear evidences of his great learning in diverse of his works yet extant, but was, above all, in respect of his spiritual life

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This Davidson was concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, and in almost every measure adopted by the ministers to thwart King James while in Scotland.

* There is a life of Mr John Welch, printed in 4to, 1703, from which we learn that "he was born a gentleman, his father being Laird of Collieston, in Nithisdale." When a stripling, he frequently eloped from school, and joined the thieves on the English border; but at college became a sincere convert to piety. He was first of all minister at Selkirk; he married Elizabeth Knox, daughter of the Reformer, and heiress to no small share of her father's spirit, by whom he had three sons. The eldest, a doctor of medicine, was killed in the Low Countries, the second perished at sea, and the third was Josias, "minister at Temple Patrick, in Ireland, commonly called the Cock of the Conscience by the people of that country, because of his extraordinary awakening and rousing gift."

So miraculous a person was Welch, that he is said to have been seen, while at prayer, surrounded by a heavenly light; but as this was at night, and in a garden, it is probable that there were glow-worms on the bushes. "He would many times retire to the church of Ayr, which was at some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expressions, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes a loud voice; nor did he irk in that society all night over, which hath, it may be, occasioned the contemptible slander of some malicious enemies, who were so bold as to call him no less than a wizzard. Mr Welch's preaching," continues his biographer, "was spiritual and searching; his utterance tender and moving; he did not much insist upon scholastick purposes; he made no show of his learning. I heard one of his hearers, who was afterwards minister of Moorkirk, in Kyle, say that no man could hardly hear him, and forbear weeping, his conveyance was so affecting."

and familiarity with his Maker, a man unparalleled. His prophetical letters are yet extant: I saw one of them verified in the execution of Sir Robert Spotswood forty years after the date.* He lived

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His sermons, many of which are printed, contain nothing remarkable, save "his familiarity with his Maker;" and were originally, according to Spottiswood, abundantly treasonable also. In the year 1596, he boldly affirmed from the pulpit, in the High Church of Edinburgh, that the king was possessed with a devil, and one devil being put out, seven more were entered in place, and that his subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand, &c. Welch died about the year 1622; at the end of his sermons (printed 1744) is an admirable poem "on the Life of Mr John Welch," composed by his editor, William Gray, bookbinder in the Grass-Market of Edinburgh.

"He was a faithful labourer
Into his Lord's vineyard,
In keeping of the tender vines
With careful watch and ward;
Untill the bulls of Bashan did
Him from his labour take,
And in the prisons of the earth,
Him for to groan did make," &c. &c.

* Welch's prediction respecting the Spottiswood family is contained in a letter to Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth, denouncing the wrath of God against Archbishop Spottiswood, "which assuredly shall fall, *except it be prevented.* Sir, Dagon shall not stand before the ark of the Lord, and these names of blasphemy that he wears of Lord Bishop and Archbishop will have a fearful end; his name shall rot, and a malediction shall fall upon his posterity after he is gone." WELCH'S *Life.*—This was written in the year 1605, from the dungeon of Blackness, (whither Lady Culross sent a tender sonnet, addressed to Mr Welch, preserved in the Wodrow MSS.,) and in the year 1646, Sir Robert Spottiswood, the archbishop's son, lost his head at St Andrews, for his loyalty. The pleadings on this trial are stuffed full of scriptural quotations, wrested, as was customary, to the sense desired, but the issue was well known before the trial commenced. Sir Robert, when led forth to execution, displayed an undaunted courage, and attempted to address the people, but the provost of the town prevent-

ane exile in France near twenty years, and died in a strange land, only upon the account of his opinion, that he believed the officers of the Church might go view their flocks whether they hade the authority of the civil magistrate to warrand them, yea or no. One more I shall only add: Mr Robert Bruce, a man honourablie descended, bred a lawyer and designed for a statesman, but wonderfully called to the ministrie, and wonderfully countenanced in it; he made alwayes ane earthquake upon his hearers, and rarely preached but to a weeping auditory. I have heard ane eminent minister say, he believed never man in the latter ages spoke with Mr Bruce his authority. A poor Highlander hearing him, came to him after sermon, and offered him his whole substance (which was only two kowes) upon condition Mr Bruce would make God his friend; ane evidence of the power of his ministrie, as evident as it was simple,

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ed him, being incited to this by Robert Blair, the fanatical minister of the place; he then betook himself to his devotions, when "the same minister having asked him if he would have him and the people to pray for the salvation of his soul, he made answer that he desired the prayers of the people, but was not solicitous for his prayers, which he believed was abominable unto God: for, added he, of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God hath scourged this nation, this was the greatest, (greater than the sword, fire, or pestilence,) that for the sins of the people, God had sent a lying spirit into the mouth of the prophets. With which free and undeniable saying this preacher finding himself touched, grew so extremely in passion, that he could not forbear scandalous and contumelious language against Sir Robert's father, who had been long dead, and against himself who was now a-dying, which this mild gentleman took no notice of, having his mind fixed upon higher matters." *Memoirs of Sir* ROBERT SPOTTISWOOD, *prefixed to his Practicks.*—In another account of his execution, Blair is said to have reminded him of Welch's prophecy, to which Sir Robert replied, that both he and Welch were lying prophets. Blair's son, in the continuation of his father's memoirs, remarks, "in January 1646, there being some execute by the order of the Parliament sitting at St Andrews, some wicked malignants did most unjustly calumniate him for vindicating the servants of God."

and many such he hade.* Yet this worthy man, for thirty years of his latter age, was secluded from his ministerial charge at Edinburgh by the king's express command, and all because he would never justifie Gowrie's slaughter at Perth. More of the eminent Scotish ministers I shall not add, though there be many. Another singularity in the Church of Scotland was the purity of their doctrine. Scotland believeth nothing but what all the Christian churches professed; Scotland would embrace no positive article but what was clearly demonstrate from Scripture; and though for the love she bare to the unity of the church and the communion of the saints, she joyned with the rest of the reformed churches in their common confession of faith (which was the latter Helvetic,) yet because they found in it one article which they found not in Scripture, to witt, holy-dayes, here they made ane exception, and this they did reject. Their next neighbour, the English church, though reformed a little before Scotland, they would never make their patern, partly because they judged her reformation ane imperfect mixture of truth and error, purity and superstition, (honest Latimer was wont to compare it to supues meat in a trough) and partly because, notwithstanding all their pretensions to antiquity, they believed it was no way conforme

* Bruce told Livingstone in private, "that he had dreamed, and had seen a great long book with black broads flying in the air, and all the black fowls flying about it, and that as it touched any of them, they fell down dead, and that he heard a voice, which he said was as audible as I heard him speak, This is the yre of God upon the ministers of Scotland, and than he presently fell a weeping. One day, when I came to his house, he was late ere he came out of his study; he had heard that day of Dr Alexander Leighton's censure at London, (for writing a book against Episcopacy,) and when he came out all his face was foul with weeping." He told me what he had heard, and that his grief was not for Dr Leighton, but for himself; Sir, said he, if I had been faithful, I might have had the pillory as well as he, but he hath got the crown from us all."

to the patern of true antiquity, but, either in negatives or positives, was found differing from every century thereof. Lastly, the unity of the Church of Scotland was unparalleled; for whereas all other churches were troubled with division or error, there was never in Scotland one minister censured for error, save only Mr John Hepburn, a soul-sleper: nor ever any schism in the Church of Scotland, except concerning the introduction of bishops, for all the time the true government of the Church stood in it. And this was as ane evident token of the Lord's presence, so also a blessing denyed to the purest of the primitive churches. These were both the honour and the hazard, the blessing and the debt, for which that poor people must reckon to the Master of the great Vineyard: and more of this I shall not add.

After the death of King James, King Charles came to the crown with as much joy and triumph as uses ordinarily to attend the beginning of a tragedy, and such his reign was. He meddled little with the religion of Scotland for the first seven years of his government, being diverted partly by his home-bred contestations with parliaments in England, and partly by his foreign military attempts on Germany, France, and Spain, in all which he came by the loss lamentably. But being at ease in the year 1633, he began to long for the glory of the ancient crown of Scotland; therefore he demanded, first, it might be sent to him in England, to save him a journey; which being most solemnly refused by the Scotish nobility, he found himself necessitate to make that long journey, that he might acquire the honour. So to Scotland he came towards the coronation, which was the occasion that many a Scotish man spent his estate upon superfluities; and that Scotland might in some measure match, if not the riches, yet at least the bravery of England. The king hade no necessary business adoe in Scotland, all being quiet to his mind; but being fatally fond of the English forms, he

would needs urge the parliament to grant him a power to prescribe the ministers the apparel they should use; and truely one would think it a poor office for a king to become a fashioner to a company of mean men, and a contemptible occasion for a wise man to adventure either displeasure or offence. Might not a godly man wear a doublet or a coat als well as a long cassock? or what is the sacramental difference betwixt buttons and a sursingle? and that almost all Scotland thought. Besides, the Scots thought the proposal itself a contemptible trifle, yet they considered that a preparative as small as a needle may make way for the introduction of a great bulk: But the king would have his will upon any terms, and you shall know the cunning he used to come at his purpose.*

The heathen emperors of old used, in the mercate-place, to rear their own image close beside the image of their heathnish god, to oblidge the poor Christians, in passing by, either to salute the idol in saluting the emperor, or affront the prince in neglecting the idol. So the king caused incorporate the article concerning ministers' ap-

* "The Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Murray, Dunkeld, Ross, Dumblain, and Brechin, served about the coronation (which was done by the said Bishop of Brechin) with white rochets and white sleeves, and loops of gold, having blue silk to their foot. Sunday the 23d of June (the King) came frae the abbey by coach to St Giles's kirk, and heard John Bishop of Murray teach in his rochet, which is a white linen or lawn drawn on above his coat, above the whilk his black gown was put on, and his arms through the gown sleeves, and above the gown sleeves is also white linen or lawn drawn on, shapen like a sleeve. This is the weed of archbishops and bishops, and wears no surplice, but churchmen of inferior degree, in time of service, wears the samen, which is above their cloaths, a side linen cloth over body and arms like a sack.

"The people of Edinburgh, seeing the bishop teach in his rochet, which was never seen in St Giles' kirk since the Reformation, and by him, who was some time one of their own Puritan ministers, they were grieved and grudged hereat, thinking the samen smelled of popery, which helped to be the bishop's deposition, as after does appear." —SPALDING'S *History*, *p.* 26.

parel in the same act of parliament with his title to the crown, to oblidge the parliament either to acknowledge him fashioner for the ministers, or else deny him to be King of Scotland; which he believed would straiten them. Also, when the act was to passe to the vote, he took pen and paper in his hand to mark the names of such as durst dissent, withall telling them, he should now know who were good subjects and who were bad, though one might think it a poor test for a man's honesty. And yet when all was done, after much sharp dispute (chiefly by the Lord Loudon) it was found there were in the parliament a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses, who choised rather to disown the king's title to the crown of Scotland as it stood in the act, than to acknowledge his power to encroach upon the latitude of Christian liberty; but none of these dissenters were ever admitted into his presence with any favour for all the time he stayed in that countrey. And when all was done, the king's cassock was disdained by a hundered where it was worn by one: And so the king desisted from innovating in the Church of Scotland for four years more.

But when the appointed time was come that Bishop Laud thought all ripe and the king thought all ready, then was the fatal project of the service-book set on foot. So the king, to beget Scotland into the likeness of England, sent down a liturgy, which was indeed a great deal nearer the Roman missall than the English service-book was. I have seen the principal book, corrected with Bishop Laud's own hand, where, in every place which he corrected, he brings the word as near the missall as English can be to Latine. This book was nothing desired by the wisest of the Scotish bishops, for they desired no more of the English church but the riches and the honour; but the unanswerable argument of the king's pleasure in the mouth of one or two of the young proud bishops, prevailed with the secret council to resolve it should be presently read in the

churches: So upon July 23, 1637, they began in the churches of Edinburgh. But he who was to officiat in the high-church had no sooner begun to read, till he was interrupted by a tumult. First, ane unknown obscure woman threw her stool at his head; a number of others did the like by her example; the whole multitude clapt their hands; some cried, A pope! A pope! The lords of council and magistrates were threatened by the people when they went about to still the tumult; both preacher and reader were forced out of the church and followed home with a shower of stones, hardly escaping with their lives.*

As the first reformation that abolished popery begun at Perth with the throw of a stone in a boy's hand, so the second reformation, which abolished episcopacy, begun with this throw of a stool in a woman's hand.† Such inconsiderable beginnings have the great-

* "So soone as the bishop begun to open the service-book, and to read thereon, and the people perceiving the deane opening his book also, all the common people, especiallie the women, rose up with such a loud clamour and uproare, so that nothing could be heard; some cryed, Woe, woe! some cryed, Sorrow! Sorrow for this dolefull day, that they are bringing in Poperie among us!—Others did cast their stooles against the deane's face, others ran out of the kirk with a pitiful lamentation, so that the reding upon the service-book was then interrupted. The Archbishop of St Andrews, (now also Chancellor) and the rest of the bishops who were in the kirk, cryed for peace and quietnes, but were not heard; thairfor the bishop left his reding, and taught a sermon, but a very short one. After sermon, when the bishop came out of the pulpit and went out of the kirk, he found the streete full of people, who ran about him, crying that he was bringing in a new religion among them, and bringing in poperie upon them. The bishop, put in a greate fear, ran up the nearest staire to have gotten into my Lord Weemes' ludging, crying to the people that he had no wyte of the matter; yet the people had rather been in hands with the deane, but he keeped himself in the kirk till the great tumult was appeased."—*MS. History of the Church of Scotland, by* JOHN ROW, *Minister at Carnock.*

† This pious woman's sirname was Geddes; her christian name was either Margaret (the common appellation) or Janet, as she is termed in a rude ballad, beginning, "Put

est revolutions in the world. Other tumults there were, both in Edinburgh and through the countrey: the Bishop of Briechin hardly escaped with his life in one. But this opposition was so unexpected, that Bishop Spotswood hade that day provided a great treat for his friends at Gilmertoun; and Bishop Fairly, consecrate but two dayes before, hade the same day appointed his consecrated gossoping in his own house in Edinburgh (the house took ominous fire in time of the tumult): but this unexpected fray spoiled two feasts. There was indeed no more appearance nor expectation of it that morning than of ane earthquake or a massacre, and so the greatest plots of Providence use ordinarly to be execute. Immediatly upon the back of this tumult, the secret council found themselves daily importuned with multitude of petitions from honourable hands, and great multitudes, all vehemently opposing the service-book and innovations; and it was thought wonderfull, the first noble petitioners mett at the door of the council-chamber, as it were, casually and without correspondence, which was to them all matter of both encouragement and amazement. These petitioners being numerous,

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the gown upon the Bishop." It is said that she had done penance, on the stool of repentance, for fornication, the Sabbath previous to this exploit. From the continuation of Baker's Chronicle, we learn that she survived the Restoration.

"Salute all our friends, and especially at your night-meetings for devotion, salute the sisters with a holy kisse; to whom you doe but your duty when you acknowledge your cause much obliged to them, and that in those your Esthers and Judiths your work had but a small beginning: and when men durst not resist the beginnings, it's wisely observed by you, that *God moved the spirit of these holy women to scourge the buyers and sellers out of God's house*, and not *to suffer the same to be polluted with that foul booke of Common Prayer*." The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Societie of Jesu, to the Covenanters in Scotland, 1640, p. 73.—The tumult, which was commonly called "the casting of the stools" (BLAIR'S *Mem.*) began "in the Mid-Kirk of St Giles, the East Kirk being at that time repairing for the altar, and other pedicles of that idolatrous service."—CRAUFURD'S *Hist. of the University of Edinburgh*.

and men of all degrees, thought fitt to continue at Edinburgh to promote their sute, and there they constitute themselves in several meetings, which were called tables, one for the noblemen, another for the gentlemen, and so for the citizens and ministers. And after they hade extorted from the council a suspension of the liturgy, they proceed to renew their old covenant: And though only eleven private men (and some of them very inconsiderable) hade the boldness first to begin this work, without ever asking leave of king or council, yet was it very quickly taken by all the people of Scotland with hands lifted up in most solemn manner. Nor did these petitioners give over till they hade obtained of the king liberty to meet in a free general assembly, now after twenty years intermission, to settle disorders in their discomposed church. This assembly conveened at Glasgow, November 21, 1638. But as gifts of adversaries are never designed to enrich the party, so the king designed nothing less than the reformation of Scotland, but rather to establish the tottering bishops, and by this assembly to overthrow both the expectations and designs of the late covenanters. Upon this account he commissionate Hamilton, a politick man, to open their general assembly, and try their pulse; but he finding the covenanters' design and spirit were both of a piece, and that it could not be ane English tractable convocation, but would prove a Scottish assembly, for many state reasons thought fit presently to dissolve the assembly, discharging them to sitt, under the pains of treason. This command, upon the consideration of their duty as church officers deriving their power from Christ alone, they found they might not obey, and so continued to act as a general assembly. And falling upon their business, they condemned the bishops, censured heresies newly sprung up, and constitute and reformed the several presbytries through the land, subordinating presbytries to synods, and synods to the national assembly, which from this meeting derived

a pure series which continued in authority for thirteen years. This was the cause of the salvation of many a man: for now a flood of godly expectants, formerly secluded by the bishops, entered into the ministry, new rules of government were appointed, manners were reformed, another spirit fell upon people, working a wonderfull change, alwayes because the king judged the actings of the covenanters, rebellion; therefore, next spring, he provided warlike preparations sufficient to overwhelm poor Scotland. Huntly raised ane army in the north, Hamiltone invades the firth by sea, the king himself rendevouzed his brave army at the Birks, near Tweed. But all these were but clouds of vapours before the north wind of the covenanters, who, though almost destitute of cavalry, and but meanly equipped, yet so terrible were they by reason of their unity, resolution, and gravity of behaviour, that the king was glade to give them their will, approving and allowing all they hade done, indicting a new assembly for church matters, and a parliament to ratifie all. This pacificatione bare date June 18, 1639. And so the famous leagure at Dunslaw dissolved, every man seeming well satisfied.

The assembly did indeed conveen in August following, wherein Traquair, the king's commissioner, that what hade been formerly disputable might become unquestionable, in full assembly and very solemnly, not only ratifies all done at Glasgow formerly, but himself subscribes the covenant, and all the dissatisfied grandees upon his example become covenanters. The promised parliament did indeed conveen, but, instead of ratifying what was done in the assembly, they are by the king adjourned, doing nothing; which begot a jealousie in the Scots, and occasioned a solemn address by honourable commissioners from the nation, that conditions might be keept, as hade been promised. But so far was the king from listening to their desires, that they are made prisoners, and the sentence of death

pronounced against Lowdon,* their great agent (which he narrowly escaped as ever man did); and, moreover, the king fortifies Edinburgh castle against the city; so that, upon the evidence of a warr designed, the Scots once again, with a gallant army, not only appear at the borders to defend, but invade England; when, having beaten the king at Newburn, they seize Newcastle, and, bringing the north of England under contribution, they there continued at their ease for a whole year.

The peace was afterward concluded at Rippon and Westminster,

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* Chancellor Loudon, one of the chief pillars of the Covenant, was a man of dissolute morals. We learn from Burnet that his wife, who was an heiress, and had brought him almost all he possessed, threatened him with a process of adultery, of which she could have had copious proof, if he would not retract his promises of service, made while in England, to the king and the Hamiltons; for these engagements he did public penance in the High Church of Edinburgh, with many hypocritical tears. BURNET, vol. i. p. 44.—"1651, the commission of the kirke satt at Stirling, at which tyme Chanceloure Campbell was brought before them, and challenged for adulterie with one Major Johnston's wyfe, surnamed Lyndsay." LAMONT'S *Diary*, p. 38.—Scott of Scotstarvet tells us that "the matter could not be gotten cleared at that time, both because the English army was then near the Border, and the presbytery was greatly his friends, for the help they had got from him in the augmentation of their stipends." *Staggering State*, p. 24.—Samuel Rutherford, in one of his epistles, addresses him thus:—"Blessed are ye of the Lord; your name and honour shall never rot or wither in heaven (at least) if ye deliver the Lord's sheep that have been scattered in a dark and cloudy day, out of the hands of strange lords and hirelings, who with rigour and cruelty have caused them to eat the pastures troden upon with their foul feet, and to drink muddy water, and who have spun out such a world of yards of *indifferencies* in God's worship, to make and weave a web for the Antichrist, (that shall not keep any from the cold,) as they mind nothing else but that by the bringing in of the Pope's foul tail first, upon us (their wretched and beggarly ceremonies) they may thrust in after them the Antichrist's legs, and thighs, and his belly, head and shoulders, and then cry down Christ and the gospel, and up the merchandise and wares of the great whore."

To my Lord Lowdon, Jan. 4, 1638.

and ratified in parliament: the Scots hade all their demands granted, their army payed even for their rebellion against the king, (as it was called,) and the king himself came down in shew to countenance, in reality to practise upon, the Scots parliament, where, finding himself unsuccessful, he withdrew in a manner neither approven nor expected: But so the Scottish broils ended.

Now the warrs betwixt the king and parliament of England came in place of the Scottish commotions. There is no historian can tell you, nor lawyer can define, how this warr begun, or who was the aggressor, who the defender; and as certain it is, there is none who doubts who carried the victory, the warr not ending in a peaceable composition, but total extinction of the one party. Alwayes certain it is, that, for the first two years of the warr, the king prevailed, and, after the rout of Fairfax and Waller, so low were the parliament, that it was put to the vote in the house of commons, not only whether they should submit to the king, but whether upon their knees they should beg his pardon, yea or no. The vote in the clerk's report passed in the affirmative; till Master Crew, a member of the house, stood up, and desired the voices might be numbered: Which being done, it was found the vote was refused, one vote only casting the balance; so narrow a misse had this most dangerous adventure.

The parliament finding themselves low, sent their commissioners into Scotland to entreat their assistance; and the Scots, partly from zeal for the true religion, and partly from apprehension of danger that their second peace at Rippon should be keept only as their first peace at Berwick was, while force and awe were the warrantees, were content to assist the parliament upon conditions: First, that what they did being done from zeal toward the advancement of Christ's kingdom, they desired England might make a thorough reformation, and unite with this body of the reformed churches.

Next, forasmuch as Scotland apprehended danger to her self, if once England were discussed, they desired assurance of mutual assistance. They were very particular in the business of their religion, declaring not only against popery, heresy, and prelacy, but likewayes distinctly for the preservation of the Scottish religion, not only in doctrine and discipline, but also government as it was then established, (which was the presbyterian received in all reformed churches) engadging England to bring their church to uniformity in all these. Many provisions were added for the king's interests, the parliament's priviledges, and against enemys' endeavours. All these conditions were moulded into ane oath, commonly called the League and Covenant, which was sworn and subscribed by all the men in Scotland, (few excepted) and by the House of Commons and a great part of England.

After this treaty the Scots advance into England with a gallant army in January 1644. The reputation of this army brought the baffled parliamentarians in heart, yet the warr continued ambiguous and uncertain all that following year, till the parliament found it necessary to mould all their unsuccessfull armies under Essex, Waller, Manchester, and others, into one, under the command of General Fairfax and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, after which the king's armies were entirely beaten from all the fields in England, himself shut up and besieged by General Fairfax in the city of Oxford.

I am now in ane open field: the warr twixt king and parliament is writte by many, belyed by not a few, yet a man may find the truth in print if he make diligent enquiry. However, the king at Oxford was in the jaws of despair, so it came to a dispute in his cabinet what he should doe for his last effort, whether he should cast himself upon the parliament or upon the Scottish army. Most of his friends advised him to goe for London, and surprise the parliament by a confident surrendry: and so to make a final peace by

condescensions. But himself choised rather to cast himself upon the Scots, in hopes to turn their sword against the parliament, and so make peace by force and warr. However, when he came into the Scottish army, though he came as Jack Ashburnham's postilion, in a most lamentable disguise, he was received with all demonstrations of honour and respect. The general himself rendered his bare sword upon his knee, which it was observed the king did not redeliver. When he came first into the Scottish quarters, he offered to play the general himself, in commanding the souldiers' posts and setting the guards, till old Lesly told him in his homely manner, that he, being the elder souldier, would save his majesty that labour: after which he forebare.

Upon this followed a solemn treaty betwixt the parliaments of both nations and the king. The Scots offered, if either he would take the covenant and satisfie both parliaments, then they should see the English keep condition at their hazard, or if he would retire into Scotland with them till he were advised, they should protect him in honour and safety: But both these he rejected with disdain and reproach. The Scots indeed told him plainly, they could not obey his government till he gave satisfaction; and partly because of this, and partly because they could not break with the English parliament upon his command, he resumed his old rejected advice of casting himself upon England. So upon the conclusion of the grand treaty, (as it was called) the king resolved to goe for Holmbie, where he was to remain under the guard of the English presbyterians, who were to him a great deal more true than trusted. The parliament had given the Scots all imaginable security, not only for the safety of his person, but also for his freedom, both which he shortly lost by his own unhappy mistake. Alwayes the Scots rendered the king rather to himself than the English, and much against their hearts. And though many malicious pens make

the payment of the Scots arrears the real cause of the king's disposal, yet certain it is, that, in one separate treaty, it was resolved the Scots should be payed full five months before there was any dispute concerning the king's motion or stay in England, so these two hade no relation one to another. Also it was then resolved, that the English armie under Fairfax should disband, and the Scottish army retire into Scotland; which is enough to vindicate the Scots of the odious imputation of selling their king.*

* The Marquis of Argyll attempted to vindicate his country from this imputation, in a tract dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, and entitled, "A short Vindication of two Aspersions cast upon Scotland upon mistaken Grounds—the first, their joyning in a League and Covenant with the Parliament of England after their own Affairs were settled—the second, their leaving the King in England when their Army returned back into Scotland." (WODROW, *MS. vol. 5.*)—After giving a brief account of public transactions, he continues: "I have here sett down a true narration in generall of the progress of the business of these dominions in as short a compend as possible, only for taking off two great aspersions laid on Scotland; one is, the joyning with England when they had all their own affairs settled to their contentment; the second is, their leaving the king in England, which open-mouth'd malignants calls selling of the king. Before I say any thing to answer the calumnies, I must reprehend ane error which possesses the most part of men; it is this: they are most strict judgers of actions by the effects only, which is a very uncertain rule; for this way weakest men (who are indeed readiest to censure others) may judge the wisest and best men, and their actions, yea, I must say, if that were a good rule, wise men might be oft times judged the greatest fools, and on the contrair; but this must be confest, the Lord turns the counsells of Achitophell to folly, for the wisedom of the world is foolishness with him; and there is no wisedom, counsell, or understanding against the Lord: and soe, when he has determined wrath, none can turn it away. Soe then to the first calumny of Scotland's entring in a league and covenant with England when their own affairs were settled to their contentment. I am confident none but byassed men, or such as are not able to judge but by the effect, will condemn Scotland for this, if they will consider two things: first, that the design of the popish and prelaticall party was to alter fundamentalls in religion, and that the king and his juncto had found their error in begin-

The king, within a little time, partly by the cunning of the independents, (whom he favoured more than the presbyterians) and

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ning at Scotland. The second thing to be considered is, that the same game was acting in England which begun in Scotland, as was evident by the great trust the popish and prelaticall party had, both in the king's councills and armies; the queen and Canterburie's influence shall serve for instance. Now let any wise Christian man judge, if the king had gote power in his hand by his sword, what might be expected by Scotland. But there is a common objection here to be answered: But, say some men, what better are ye now, when other men have the power of the sword? This is but to return to the former error already spoken of, in judging by effects. And, farder, I will say, any thing is in that was the king and his counsellors own faults, *that would not satisfy his people's desyres in tyme,* but drove on still to greater and greater extremities, and gave ground for practising these two maxims, "Extremis malis extrema remedia," and that "Salus populi suprema lex." Now to the other calumny of selling the king, I am soe charitable as to think no man will averr it, but such as are malignants, or have a very malignant spirit within them; for let any indifferent man judge when the king had refused to agree to the propositions of both kingdoms, and it was known he was endeavouring to stirr up a war betwixt the kingdoms upon his interest, still refusing to satisfie the people, yea, resolving to prosecute his former designes, what could Scotland doe in such a case but as they did, to leave the king in England amongst his own subjects, equally engadged to him, knowing that many in England desired a pretence to keep up ane army, and that the money conditioned to Scotland at that tyme was only for the arriers of the Scotts army, is soe weel known, that it needs noe proof; and since this calumny was forged and promulgate upon the usage the king had after he was left in England, I must speak one word more, as in my answer to the former aspersion, that what fell out in that was most occasioned through the king's own fault, and his councellors, who neglected and refused all opportunities of settling, till *men were driven to necessities of doing things which could be easily cleared were never designed,* before they were upon necessity resolved to be practised, for after the Scotts army was returned to Scotland, applications were made to the king, both by the parliament and army, as severall ordinances of parliament and declarations of the army may evidence. I hope this will be sufficient to vindicat Scotland from these unjust calumnies; and if any remain soe wicked and uncharitable as not to be satisfied, I hope it will be none of the best or wisest people; for others, such as are wicked and malicious will be soe still. Et qui vult decipi, decipiatur."

partly by his own unfortunate conduct, wheedled himself into Hammond's hands, when he was made close prissoner in the Isle of Wight, where I must leave him for a time.

Scotland sleept not all the time of the English warr; something very considerable happened both in church and state. The English parliament a little after the king forsook them, in consideration of the lameness of their reformation, both in doctrine and government, thought fitt to conveen ane assembly of divines at Westminster, by whose advice they resolved to reform their church. They called men of all persuasions. Some episcopal, some Erastian, and thither also they invited the General Assembly to send their commissioners for assistance. The assembly, to further so good a work, sent Mr Alexander Henderson, eminent for his grave prudence, Mr Samuel Rutherford for his heavenly gifts, Mr George Gillespie, that eminent disputant, and Mr Robert Baillie,* a man for communications,

* "Henderson, a minister of Edinburgh, was by much the wisest and gravest of them all (the Covenanters,) but as all his performances that I have seen are flat and heavy, so he found it was an easier thing to raise a flame than to quench it." BURNET'S *Hist.* vol. I. p. 34.—Rutherford is asserted by Swift, in his notes on Burnet, to have been half fool, half mad. His sermons and letters are replete with blasphemy, obscenity, and nonsense; more particularly his letters, addressed to many godly ladies, such as Kenmure, Boyd, and Culross. We learn from the History of the University of Edinburgh, that "in the end of the year 1625, Mr Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Humanitie, having given *some scandal in his marriage*, was forced to demit his charge." —Gillespie wrote a book, entitled "A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies," &c., and died railing at the royalists. "I esteem the malignant party in these kingdoms to be the seed of the serpent, enemies to piety and presbyterial government," &c. *Vide his Testimony in the Scots Worthies.*—Baillie's political principles were perhaps not so violent as those of his colleagues, yet, "after reasoning, reading, and prayer, he came heartily into the measures of the covenanters, and died under a rooted aversion to prelacy in this church." WODROW'S *Hist.*—"These men," says Burnet, "were all of a sort. They affected great sublimities in devotion: they poured themselves out in their prayers in a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but

together with the Lord Maitland, afterwards Earle and Duke of Lauderdale, a man of excellent parts, hade they been blessed and improven, but as then his reputation was entire. This assembly sat diverse years, and ended rather by a consumption than a dissolution; but in the time they were together, they aggreed upon ane excellent confession of faith, and two catechisms, with full harmony, till they came to the government, where they were both constrained to omitt the decision of the great question concerning the power of congregational elderships, forbearing for lack of harmony to determine the great question, Whether a single congregation may excommunicate or not? and when they came to define the dependence of congregations upon presbytries as subordinate thereto, they met with the famous dissent of the seven independant brethren, so renouned for learning and piety. This dissent was followed with a large printed dispute betwixt the synod and the dissenters. But though the independents gave the presbyterians the last word in the dispute, they took to themselves the advantage of the last stroke in the politick contestation, by which they made themselves masters, if not of the assembly, yet both of parliament and army. The confession, catechisms, and directory were considered, and received in the General Assembly of Scotland in their session, 1648, as may be seen in the acts. Nothing at all was altered, one only article was interpreted, as you may find; and this was the alteration or advance that was made in the church of Scotland, since the assembly at Glasgow in all the time of King Charles the First.

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an ordinary proportion of learning among them; something of Hebrew, and very little Greek: books of controversy with papists, but above all with the Arminians, was the height of their study. A way of preaching by doctrine, reason, and use, was that they set up on: and some of them affected a strain of stating cases of conscience, not with relation to moral actions, but to some reflexions on their condition and temper: that was occasioned chiefly by their conceit of praying by the spirit, which every one could not attain to, or keep up to the same heat in at all times."

But the civil state of Scotland was not so quiet, for immediatly after the Scots army hade marched into England to the parliament's assistance, did the king commissionate Montrose to raise a warr in Scotland, by which he made account either to oblidge the covenanters to recall their army out of England, or at least to make that nation smart for their boldness. And this indeed he did effectually; for, landing in the West Highlands, with a party of bloody Irish papists, who hade been but a little before flesht in the cruel massacre of the innocent protestants, he over run the whole countrey, and beat the covenanters' forces in six bloody conflicts. His warr, I believe, was the most cruel in the world. The behaviour of his souldiers was to give no quarter in the field, and ordinarly wherever they came in the countrey, they deflowred the women and butchered the poor men, not contenting themselves with common slaughter, except they barbarously mangled the carcase.* And that you may know what Scotland suffered in two of his bloody dayes, he made two hundered widows in St Andrews and Kirkaldy, and this was much to his hatred and the king's dishonour. At length, after a year's prosperity, he was beat at Philiphaugh by David Lesly,† and thereafter

* I find no mention of this barbarity in any other author. In the year 1648, Lord Francis Villiers, brother to the Duke of Buckingham, aged eighteen, was killed by the Puritans at the rout of Bansted-downs, and his body "abused in a beastly manner, not fit to be mentioned." LLOYD'S *Memoirs, &c. p.* 678.—Of this unfortunate youth, Ludlow says, "The Lord Francis, presuming, perhaps, that his beauty would have charmed the souldiers, as it had done Mrs Kirk, for whom he had made a splendid entertainment the night before he left London, and made her a present of plate to the value of a thousand pounds, staid behind his company: where, unreasonably daring the troopers, and refusing to take quarter, he was killed; and after his death there was found upon him some of the hair of Mrs Kirk, sewed in a piece of ribbon that hung next his skin."

† Some idea of the inhuman cruelties of David Lesly, afterwards Lord Newark, may be formed from the following memoranda of Sir James Turner, extracted from

shrunk out of the land by the king's order, when he came first to the Scottish army in England.

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the original MS. Sir James joined General Lesly, the Marquis of Argyll, Major-General Holborne, &c. in the year 1647, when busied in reducing the north of Scotland to the thraldom of the committee of estates:—"Alaster Macdonald, like a fool, (for no sojor he was, though stout enough) put in 300 of his best men in a house on the top of a hill called Dunavertie, environed with a stone wall, where there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds. Then leaving Kintire he went to Yla, where he play'd just such another mad prank, leaving his old father, commonlie called Coll Kettock, with neere 200 men, in castle called Dunneveg, where was no water either bot what the heavens afforded. The rest of his men he carried with him to Ireland, (ane excellent Generall Major) where he was killed in a battell fought by those with whom he joyned against my Lord Taffe, now Earle of Carlingford. We besieged Dunavertie, which keep'd out well enough till we stormed a trench they had at the foot of the hill, whereby they commanded two stripes of water. This we did take. In the assault fortie of them were put to the sword. We losed five or sixe, with Argile's major. After this, inexorable thirst made them desire a parley; I was ordered to speake with them, neither could the Lieutenant-Generall be moved to grant any other conditions, then that they sould yield on discretion, or mercy; and it seemed strange to me to heare the Lieutenant-Generall's nice distinction, that they sould yield themselves to the kingdome's mercy, and not to his. At length they did so; and after they were com'd out of the castle they were put to the sword, everie mother's sonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whose life I beg'd, to be sent to France, with a hundreth countrey fellows, whom we had smoak'd out of a cave as they do foxes, who were given to Captain Campbell, the Chancellor's brother.

"Heere it will be fit to make a stop, till this cruell action be canvas'd. First, the Lieutenant-Generall was two days irresolute what he sould doe; the Marques of Argile was accused, at his arraignment, of this murther, and I was examined as a witness. I did declare, which was true, that I never heard him advise the Lieutenant-Generall to it: what he did in private I know not. Secondlie, Argile was but a colonell there, and so had no power to doe it of himselfe. Thirdlie, thogh he had advised him to it, it was no capitall crime, for counsell is no command. Fourthlie, I have severall times spoke to the Lieutenant-Generall to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it, and I know, of himselfe he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr John Nave (who was appointed by the commission of the Kirke to wait on him as his chaplaine) never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed, yea, and threat-

The last effort that was made to rescue the king out of his imprisonment, was made by the parliament of Scotland in the year 1648. The Church of Scotland was against engadging in warr with the English parliament at that time, partly because they judged the king hade given no security for religion and peace, and partly because they doubted the stiffness of his temper, fearing that upon his enlargement he might return to his old designs; however, the parliament by the plurality carried the warr, contrare to a protestation

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ened him with the curses befell Saull, for sparing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunavertie men: and I verilie believe that this prevail'd most with David Lesly, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland. Lastlie, there is no doubt bot the Lieutenant-General might, legallie enough, without the least transgression of either the custome, practice, or law of warre, or his own commission, have used them as he did, for he was bound by no article to them, they haveing submitted themselves absolutelie to his discretion. It is true, on the other hand, summum jus, summa injuria; and in such cases mercy is the more christian, the more honorable, and the more ordinare way in our warres in Europe. But I reallie beleeve, advise him to that act who woll, he hath repented it many times since, and even very soone after the doeing it.——

"From Yla we boated over to Jura, a horride isle, and a habitation fit for deere and wild beasts; and so from isle to isle, till we came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Heere Maclaine saved his lands with the losse of his reputation, if ever he was capable to have any. He gave up his strong castles to Lesly, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelitie, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteene very prettie Irishmen, who had beene all along faithfull to him, to the Lieutenant-Generall, who immediatlie caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Maclaine, but inexcusablie ill done in him to betray them. Heere I cannot forget one Sir Donald Cambell, a very old man, flesh'd in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence press'd that all the whole clan of Maclaine sould be put to the edge of the sword, nor wold he be commanded to forbeare his bloodie sute by the Lieutenant-Generall and the two Generall Majors, and with some difficultie was he commanded silence by his chiefe the Marques of Argile. For my part I said nothing, for indeed I did not care thogh he had prevailed in his sute, the deliverie of the Irish had so much irritated me against that whole name."

of many members, and a petition from almost every paroch in Scotland. And here begun the lamentable justling betwixt church and state. Alwayes the Scottish army was beatten at Prestoun by Cromwel, and the command of Scotland was, by a rising of the dissatisfied party in arms, wholly wrung out of the hand and reach of the late governing party, who were by a capitulation not only constrained to lay down arms, but also to engadge thereafter to meddle no more with the government of the nation. This was done at the Whiggs' Road, as was called, and so the protestors in parliament became entire masters of Scotland.

The English independents fearing now neither Scotland nor England, immediatly upon the back of the defeat of the Scots brought the king from the Isle of Wight to his tryal at London, where, contrare to the heart of the parliament of England, and the protestation of the Scots commissioners there present, they condemned him to die, and struck off his head, to the great astonishment of the world, and the sad regrate of Scotland, excepting these who had lossed their relations by his sword. He was a gentleman, because of his continual misfortunes pitied by most, and admired by many. I will not say but there are great mysteries in king's genealogies and characters: Common historians serving them as popish legendaries doe their latter saints, concealing all their vices, extolling common virtues as heroick. Yet I never heard his enemys blame him for the common vices of princes, except the two bastards in his youth, and his swearing in his old age.* People generally think his greatest

* This is the only notice we meet with in any author of Charles's early incontinence and subsequent impiety. Sir Edward Peyton, who has raked together many improbable scandals respecting the king, makes no mention of illegitimate children; and Mrs Hutchinson, more likely than any other, from her sex and character, to be acquainted with these circumstances, pronounces Charles a "temperate, chaste prince." *Memoirs, p.* 65.—As to his swearing, his religious bias seems to contradict the accusation; but Kirkton had imbibed all the prejudices of his sect against the king, and misrepresents

unhappiness was, he mistook wilfullness for constancy, his condescensions alwayes coming too late, granting unprofitably to his people today that which would have abundantly satisfied yesterday, and the next day that which would have satisfied this day, but all out of time.

The Scots, immediatly upon the news of his death, proclaim his eldest son king, upon the 5th of February, 1649, providing alwayes that he was not to be admitted to the exercise of his government

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his conduct throughout, falsifying the truth of history in many particulars; as respecting the condemnation of Loudon, Charles's measures after his flight to the Scottish army, and numerous other circumstances, obvious to every reader of our national annals. Inflamed by recent controversies, and the fervour of professional enthusiasm, it was natural enough, perhaps, for Kirkton to write thus; but it is wonderful to observe how widely, of late times, it hath become fashionable to rank King Charles among tyrants and wicked men, and his destroyers with the meritorious and the pure. Modern historians have gone great lengths in their endeavours to prove his ambition of arbitrary sway, his faithless system of politicks; and if they cannot fix actual vice upon his private character, would fain represent him as a prince of manners so extremely harsh and forbidding, that in this age of urbanity his deportment amounts almost to a crime: but it should still be remembered, that at his accession to the throne, the royal prerogative extended beyond definition, and had been stretched to all extremes by the former sovereigns of England; that his temptations to equivocate and juggle (granting him guilty of such meanness) were almost irresistible, environed as he was with a crew of the falsest hypocrites that ever existed; and as to his cold and repulsive demeanour,—for a person of so unhappy an address, he certainly could boast of the warmest and most constant friends that ever man possessed.

But, after all, the cavils of his enemies signify little; the siftings and sophistications of party cannot overturn the established records of truth. As long as moderation and good sense are prized, or literature and a turn for the fine arts admired—while constancy under the most bitter and unmerited misfortunes is respected, or piety enduring to the very last esteemed a virtue, this good prince must continue to be revered, in spite of those historians who disguise the Stuarts in the imperial purple of Rome, that, like Brutus, they may boast of having assassinated tyrants; and through the bosom of King Charles the Martyr and his descendants, aim a blow at the very heart of royalty and all hereditary honour.

till he should give satisfaction for religion and peace; nor could they make warr upon England for their king, till he and they were at a point, which was not for two years after; but these two years, in my opinion, were the best two years that Scotland ever saw.

For though alwayes since the assembly at Glasgow the work of the gospel hade prospered, judicatories being reformed, godly ministers entered, and holy constitutions and rules daily brought into the church, yet, now after Duke Hamilton's defeat, and in the interval betwixt the two kings, religion advanced the greatest step it hade made for many years; now the ministry was notablie purified, the magistracy altered, and the people strangly refined. It is true, at this time hardly the fifth part of the lords of Scotland were admitted to sit in parliament, but those who did sitt were esteemed truely godly men; so were all the rest of the commissioners in parliament elected of the most pious of every corporation. Also, godly men were imployed in all offices, both civil and military; and about this time the General Assembly, by sending abroad visitors into the countrey, made almost ane entire change upon the ministry in several places of the nation, purgeing out the scandelous and insufficient, and planting in their place a sort of godly young men, whose ministry the Lord sealed with ane eminent blessing of success, as they themselves sealed it with a seal of heavy sufferings; but so they made full proof of their ministry. Scotland hath been, even by emulous foreigners, called Philadelphia; and now she seemed to be in her flower.* Every minister was to be tried five times a year, both for his

* This *flower* of Scotland, in the perfection of her church, was plentifully bedewed with the blood of malignancy. *Exempli gratia*:—In one day the covenanters drowned eighty women and children, found guilty of following Montrose's camp, by precipitating them over the bridge at Linlithgow; and six more shared the same fate at Elgin. *Sir* GEORGE MACKENZIE'S *Vindication, &c.*—From the account of the battle of Philiphaugh, published under authority by the victors themselves, we learn that they shot

personal and ministerial behavior; every congregation was to be visited by the presbyterie, that they might see how the vine flowrished, and how the pomegranate budded. And there was no case nor question in the meanest family in Scotland, but it might become the object of the deliberation of the General Assembly, for the congregational session's book was tried by the presbyterie, the presbyterie's book by the synod, and the synod's book by the General Assembly. Likewayes, as the bands of the Scottish church were strong, so her beauty was bright; no error was so much as named, the people were not only sound in the faith, but innocently ignorant of unsound doctrine; no scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concealed in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence there was betwixt ministers and congregations. The General Assembly seemed to be the priest with Urim and Thumim, and there were not ane 100 persons in all Scotland to oppose their conclusions; all submitted, all learned, all prayed, most part were really godly, or at least counterfitted themselves Jews. Than was Scotland a heap of wheat set about with lilies, uniform, or a palace of silver beautifully proportioned; and this seems to me to have been Scotland's high noon.

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an hundred Irish prisoners "at a post," on which occasion a covenanted minister observed, "this wark gaes bonnilie on." General Hurry, being sentenced to perpetual banishment by the parliament, his life was peremptorily demanded, and obtained, by the commission of the Kirk. *Memoirs of the Somerville Family.*—The Marquis of Huntly, a venerable nobleman of eighty, had been previously beheaded, chiefly owing to a like Christian application. After the execution of Sir Robert Spottiswood, indeed, the clergy solicited the parliament that more royalists might be slaughtered, but could not obtain their desire. GUTHRIE'S *Memoirs.*—The massacres at Dunnavertie and in Jura are particularized in a former note; the first was promoted, if not caused, by Lesly's chaplain, who exclaimed, in a sermon preached before the troops, "What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in my ears, and the lowing of the oxen?" applying that text of scripture to the victims still unbutchered.

The only complaint of prophane people was, that the government was so strict they hade not liberty enough to sin. I confess I thought at that time, the common sort of ministers strained too much at the sin which in these dayes was called MALIGNANCIE, (and I should not paint the moon faithfully if I marked not her spots,) otherwayes I think if church officers could polish the saints on earth as bright as they are in heaven, it were their excellencie and the churches happiness. But this season lasted not long.

For all this time Scotland thirsted after her young banished king, the people desired to see religion and laws established by his consent, and that the government might run in the old channel. The nobles doubted their own safety till they were settled upon that rock, and private designes furthered not a little these publick inclinations. So the Scottish parliament send their commissioner to their king at Breda, intreating him, upon satisfaction to be granted to their demands, to accept of the crown and government of Scotland. His unsuccessfullness in all his other attempts prevailed with him to close with the Scots, more than all the arguments their commissioners could use, of ane episcopal man to become a covenanted presbyterian. And the Marquesse of Argile being all that time almost dictator of Scotland, to make all sure for himself, being in great danger from the envy of his enemies, thought good to strike up a match betwixt the king and his daughter Lady Anne, to which the king consented with all assurance, though all that poor family hade by the bargane was a disappointment so grievous to the poor young lady, that of a gallant young gentlewoman, she lossed her spirit and turned absolutely distracted: so unfortunately do the back wheels of private designes work in the puppet playes of the publick revolutions in the world.

The commissioners hastening to engadge the king, transgressed their instructions, though in the time of the treaty it was found he

had invaded Scotland by his bloody General Montrose, which was a token to many he acted rather as a politician than a convert. Alwayes, because even Montrose himself was broke and execute, the king for his last shift closes with Scotland, promising to ratifie all they hade done of late, and to take the covenant in most solemn and hearty manner. So for Scotland he sett sail, and swore the covenant in the hands of Mr John Livingston,* upon the 23d of June, 1650,

* Livingstone wrote his own memoirs, which, though curtailed by his publisher, are well worthy of perusal. Like Rutherford, he carried on an epistolary correspondence with all the distinguished female enthusiasts in Scotland, and I have seen many letters addressed to him by the Marchioness of Hamilton, the Countesses of Eglintoune and Wigtoun, Ladies Boyd and Culross, &c., expressing wonderful attachment to his person, as well as to the covenanted cause. As a specimen of the style in which these she-saints wrote, a letter of Lady Culross, much more brief than the generality of her religious rhapsodies, is subjoined, from the original MS.

"*To my worthy and loving brother, Mr John Livingstoun, preacher of the word of God.*

"My werry worthy and deir brother, I have written to you alredy, I knaw not if it be cum to your hands. I am presently in John Gillon his house. We cam weill over, blessed be God. I hope ye will meet us in the Shots the morn so soon as ye can. John Gray and his wyf are heir. We long ernestly for you. Be ernist with God, and do as he derrecte. This is my first voyage heir, if ye disapoint me—I will say na mair. I hope God sall bring you heir, and furnish you as we have neid. I was stayit the first day with storms, sair against my will. Com and mak us amends for all faults. *John Gray, your young bab, longs for the pap;* blessed be God for that change; com help to confirm him. We have all neid of you. If ye com not it will greve me, therfor mak no excusis. Pray ernistly for us; nevir sic neid. The sprite of God be with you and conwoy you; his grace be with you till meitting and for evir. In haist. Zours in Christ,

E. MELVILL.

Your clais are heir, quilk ye left with us to mak us the mor sure of you; and yet ye faild us. Do not so now, for fear *we poind your nicht cap.*"

June, 1629.

-at the mouth of Spey, and before ever he sett foot on the Scottish shore. The authentick instrument is yet in a private hand in Scotland, upon which future ages may comment.

Immediatly upon the king's landing, Cromwel invaded Scotland, and the Scottish army levyed for the king being entirely beaten at Dumbar by the English, division entered both state and church, which is not as yet even to this day removed. Here the staff of

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Livingstone married the daughter of Bartholomew Fleeming, merchant in Edinburgh. The account of his previous doubts and their conclusion is curious:—"When I went a visit to Ireland, in February 1634," says he, "Mr Blair propounded to me that marriage. I had seen her before several times in Scotland, and heard the testimony of many of her gracious disposition, yet I was for nine months seeking, as I could, direction from God about that business; during which time I did not offer to speak to her, who I believe had not heard any thing of the matter, only for want of clearness in my mind, although I was twice or thrice in the house, and saw her frequently at communions and publick meetings, and it is like I might have been longer in such darkness, except the Lord had presented me an occasion of our conferring together; for in November 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting at Ancrum, I met with her and some others going thither, and propounded to them by the way, to confer on a text whereupon I was to preach the day after at Ancrum, wherein I found her conference so judicious and spiritual, that I took that for some answer of my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days after I propounded the matter to her, and desired her to think upon it; and after a week or two I went to her mother's house, and being alone with her desiring her answer, I went to prayer, and urged her to pray, which at last she did; and in that time, I got abundance of clearness that it was the Lord's mind that I should marry her, and then propounded the matter more fully to her mother. And although I was fully cleared, I may truly say it was above a month before I got marriage affection to her, although she was for personal endowments beyond many of her equals, and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer. But thereafter I had a great difficulty to moderate it."

Livingstone died in banishment at Rotterdam, 1672. His sermon on Lot's wife is one of the most extraordinary specimens of pulpit eloquence extant.

bands was broken. The cause of this rent was this: After the defeat of Dumbar the king required a new army to be levyed, wishing earnestly it might be of another mettall than that which hade been lossed. So he desired that sort of people who were called malignants, his darlings, might be brought into places of trust both in council and army, though they hade been secluded from both by their own consent. And this request was granted both by committee of estates and commission of the church sitting at Perth. But there was a party in both these councils, which alleadged confidently, that though the malignants were content to profess repentance for their former practices, yet they should be found to be men neither sincere in their professions, nor successfull in their undertakings. This was the beginning of the fatal schism in the Scottish church. For though the king, to secure Scotland, was content once more to take the covenant at his coronation in Scoon, (which instrument he caused burn at London) yet the dissatisfied party continued still in their jealousies, and even of the king himself, whom they doubted most of all. This party was called Protesters and Remonstrators, as the other was called Resolutioners: which names occasioned lamentable distraction. However, the king would try his new levyed army, composed of his loyal malignants, but it prospered just as it had been foretold; for, after many unfortunate attempts in Scotland, they entered England, partly in the way of flight and partly in the way of invasion, where they were entirely beaten at Worchester upon the 3d of September, 1651, being the same remarkable day upon which the Scots had been beaten at Dumbar the preceding year.*

* The corporation of Edinburgh, through hatred to Cromwell, and the importunity of the loyal party, joined the national engagement in favour of Charles, and advanced, instead of 1200 men they had originally pledged themselves to furnish, the sum of 3300 pounds, which they contrived to borrow, the town funds being then low. After

The king escaped into France, and the English became peaceable masters of Scotland for the nine years following. So, after all the counties of Scotland hade formally acknowledged the English for their sovereigns, they appointed magistrates and constitute judicatories to govern the land for their time. They did indeed proclaim a sort of toleration to dissenters amongst protestants, but permitted the gospel to have its course, and presbyteries and synods to continue in the exercise of their powers, and all the time of their government the work of the gospel prospered not a little, but mightily. It is also true, that because they knew the generality of the Scottish ministers were for the king upon any termes, therefore they did not permit the General Assembly to sitt, (and in this I believe they did no bad office) for both the authority of that meetting was denyed by the protesters, and the Assembly seemed to be more sett upon establishing themselves than promoving religion: also the division of the church betwixt protesters and resolvers continued in the church for six or seven years with far more heat than became, and errors in some places infected some few; yet were all these losses inconsiderable in regard of the great successe the word preached hade in sanctifying the people of the nation. And I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period

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the unfortunate battle of Worcester, this honourable body of Covenanters totally disclaimed the engagement for which the money had been raised, neither would they repay one farthing to those who had lent it; but, to have their consciences set entirely at ease respecting the honesty of the measure, they consulted the committee of the General Assembly, "Whether, the engagement being unlawful, they were bound in conscience to pay the money borrowed in support of it;" and the committee of the reverend Assembly declared, "It is the judgement of the commission, that the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh who state the case, should not, in conscience, pay any part of the foresaid sum, nor interpose their authority for paying of the same." —ARNOT'S *Hist. of Edinburgh, p.* 123. *Council Register, vol.* 17, *p.* 215–359.

of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of treeple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace than was in their time. Ministers were painfull, people were diligent; and if a man hade seen one of their solemn communions, where many congregations mett in great multitudes, some dozen of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance (so serious were they in spiritual exercises) for three dayes at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world. Besides, the ministers, after some years, began to look at the questions about which they hade divided as inconsiderable. And what did it import whether the king was a real covenanter and presbyterian, as the publick resqlutioners said, or that he hade only dissembled for his interest, as the protesters said, while in the mean time he was a banished man, and out of case either to fulfill or violate his covenant? Therefore ane aggreement was framed betwixt the two parties in most of the synods, by which it was concluded, every man should enjoy his own opinion without impeachment from the acts of the contraverted assemblies, which hade mightily inflamed the division; also it was found, error made no great progress in all Scotland, the genious of the people being neither very curious nor easily chang'd: So truely religion was at that time in very good case, and the Lord present in Scotland, tho' in a cloud.

In the time of greatest plenty of the word, a poor woman in Glenluce had a strange revelation, upon which she called for her minister, Mr John Scot, exhorting him to be very diligent in his time; for within a short while a bloody throne should be raised in Scotland, the people of the Lord should be made very miserable, the purses of the nobles filled with the blood and substance of the saints, ministers chased from their congregations, and forced to preach in woods and mountains; adding, that deliverance would

come, but it would take a time to come, and than a cloud of wrath should break upon the persecutors. This happen'd October 5, 1652, when there was alse small probability of what the poor woman spake, as there was evidence it was true within a few years thereafter. And all this time faithful watchmen, in the midst of this plenty, both foresaw and foretold a sad change; because, tho' the word was fruitfull, it answered not the Lord's pains in any just proportion.

The English many times offered the government of the nation to the protesters, which they upon scruple did alwayes refuse, till Cromwell, weary with the protesters' scrupolosity, and being highly carressed by Mr (afterward Bishop) Sharp his large proffers in behalf of the resolutioners, was forced to allow them equal liberty, and so they continued in a ballance till after his death. The division happening in the army betwixt Lambert and Monck, and Lambert being ruined by the discord of his own party, Monck became sole master of the parliament army, and all Brittan, which his victory he improved by bringing about the much-desired change of bringing home the king, after which strange changes happened: Upon which wee purpose more particularly to insist.

LIB. II.

THE RETURN OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

THE king's return from his miserable exile into his languishing confounded countrey, was both the object of many fervent desires, and the foundation of very many high expectations; nor am I able to judge whether he longed more to enjoy his royal palace, or his people to see him established upon his throne. Indeed his exile was very comfortless to himself, for, in France, first he was coldly entertained by his nearest neighbours and relations, and thereafter shamefully banished, and partly upon Mazarine's base pick. In Colen he quickly found himself a burdine to his host, and thereafter became the publick object of his dishonour, the boys in the city making a solemn anniversary mock pageant to the scorn of the king without land. And when he was driven to seek shelter and rest in the Spanish Netherlands, where he made his longest abode, yet was he still hunted by his enemies, betrayed by his servants, and most unsuccessfull in all his attempts, besides his continual sorrow for his losse, his fear from his hazard, and the poor shift he was constrained to make among strangers for his supply. And there he learned to believe kings might have reason to pray for their daily bread from the Lord, which he could never believe from his tutor, inculcating into his mind the petitions of the Lord's Prayer while he was yet a young child. All these, and many more, you may think were enough to make him long for what might at-

tend the command of Brittain. Upon the other side, his people were most impatient under the grief from his absence, partly from their discontent with, and disdain they hade towards their present lords, and partly from the love they bore to his unknown person. Indeed the nations were brought under and kept under by a party of men, small for their number, being only the rump of that body of people who commenced the warr against Charles the First; and likewayes inconsiderable for their parts, few of them being men either of birth or breeding; and tho' they were wonderfully successfull, yet their victories smelled alwayes more of ane admireable air of prosperity, than ordinary military valor. And, lastly, that party was despicable for their quality in the world, being almost all of them citizens or husband men, which the nobles of Brittain disdained very much. Moreover, tho' these men were of the most sober behaviour of any that ever commanded by the sword, yet you may expect something would happen in their administration that would be grievous: forasmuch as even justice and courtesie both were disdained from their hand. Besides, they were constrained to keep up ane army for their own support, and heavily to burdine the nations for the maintenance of the same; which was the more odious, being from these who called themselves patrons of the people's liberty. And nothing made the nations roar louder for their king, than that a people, who had taken arms upon pretence of conscience to purge the reformed religion of superstitions of the episcopal church, should not only tolerate, but also encourage the vilest blasphemies: And tho' it was sore against the heart of their head, yet so much did that whole party adore the idol of liberty, he was necessitate to forbear what he durst not suppresse. It is also to be considered, that as it is ane easy matter for a man in discontent to imagine any condition sweeter than the present case, so very many considerations drawn from the king's case and personal character

heightened much the desire of the nations after their king's return. The compassions the world hade for his father's misfortunes and sufferings, and his own youth being spent in continual toyle, attended with losse, dishonour, and grief, were enough to make a gentle nature to pity him. He was known to be of a meek temper, which he could well improve by his wonderfull reservedness, courtesie, and dissimulation, for every man had at least fair words and big promises: so compassion begat affection, and affection heightened every shadow of virtue in him. Few conversed in his court except these who were full of the same spirit with himself; all those suppressed all noise of his imperfections, and proclaimed his virtues, so he was made to the world a paragon of virtue as well as ane example of pity. The people of Scotland had no correspondence with him, or what they hade came from these courtiers who study more to be smooth than faithfull. He wrote indeed a friendly letter to Mr Hamilton, the minister in Edinburgh, (whom in a special manner he seemed to affect,) assuring him he was the same in France that he hade been in Scotland, by which ambiguous expression he seemed both to defend his own constancy and outreach the minister: yet was that letter looked at by many in Scotland as if it hade been a renewing of the covenant. And tho' it be now confidently affirmed he corresponded with the Pope, and no crime now to say he was then a papist, yet was it at that time high læse majesty to doubt he was any other thing than a sincere covenanter. If it were told them he used the English liturgy in his chapel, it was excused as being rather necessity than choice, people believing he could have no other. So their affections to his person were equal to their discontent with the republican governors. And to compleat the people's appetite for the king's return, the hopes founded upon his restauration were nothing behind either the discontent under Cromwell, or the affection to his person: for then

did every fellow that hade catched a scarr in a fray among the tories (though perchance pillaging ane honest house) expect to be a man all of gold. All that hade suffered for him in his warr, lossed for him of their estate, or been advocates for him in a tavern dispute, hoped well to be noticed as his friends, or to receive not only a compensation from his justice, but a gratuity from his bounty. I believe there were more gaping after prizes than his sufficiency, hade it been ten times greater than it was, could ever have satisfied. All believed it would be the golden age when the king returned in peace; and some of our Brittish divines made the date of the accomplishment of the glorious promises in the apocalypse, not doubting he was assuredly to be the man should destroy Rome as sure as he was Constantine's successor. In fine, the eagerness of their longing was so great, some would never cut their hair, some would never drink wine, some would never wear linen, till they might see the desire of their eyes, the king.

Weell: when time was ripe, a sort of parliament conveened in England by the authority of the committee of council, upon which the rump of the long-successfull parliament hade derived their power, before their voluntary dissolution, as General Monck and his cabal had resolved; and immediatly upon their first assembling the king thought good, by Sir John Greenvile, to addresse to them ane oblidging letter, wherein he engadged to preserve every man in his profession, and protect every man in the freedom of his conscience, with many other large promises: Upon which the parliament (being mostly made of presbyterians) thought fitt to invite him home by a splended legation of Lords and Commons, among whom was the Lord Fairfax, that he who hade ruined the father in the field might doe the world reason by restoring the son in peace. Accordingly the king, accompanied with his two brothers, his triumphant court, and many a poor maimed cavaleer, having sett sail

from Schevelin, took land at Dover upon the 25th of May, 1660, where he was received with all the honour and reverent splendor England could strain in the highest degree. From thence he was conveyed throw London to Westminster, upon the 29th of May, 1660, which was the so much celebrated date of the blessed restauration. Some men are indeed blessed of God, because their birthday proves sometimes the diet of happy events to them. The king will needs be reckoned amongst these, and therefore contrived his journey so as to thrust the glory of his restauration upon the day of his birth, to prove it a blessed Sabbath through all generations. The same day he entered the parliament also, and having there made his short compliment of thanks and promises, retired that night to his palace, all the multitude being in ane extasie, and himself on the top of joy. That night it is reported Barbara Villiers,*

* " In a slasht doublet then he came ashore,
And dubb'd poor Palmer's wife his royal——" *State Poems, vol. I.*

" Which Barbara," says Collins, " by reason of her noble descent from many worthy ancestors, and her father's death in his majesty's army, as also in respect of *her own personal virtues*, and that in former times the raising of *eminent women* to great titles of honour had not been unusual in this realm, his majesty therefore, in pursuance of those so laudable examples, did, by letters patent, advance her to the title of Baroness Nonsuch, in the county of Surrey, as also to the dignities of Countess of Southampton, and Duchess of Cleveland, &c." Of all the ladies who, at the Restoration, stood candidates for the royal favour, (and the Duke of York declared that the whole court vied with each other in soliciting his brother's embraces and his own) none excelled the Duchess of Cleveland in beauty. She was the daughter of William, Viscount Grandison, mortally wounded at the siege of Bristol; a brave man, whose fault, according to Clarendon, was an inclination " to be too prodigal of his person;" in another sense, the foible of his daughter also; for, at one time, her list of lovers included the king, Jacob Hall the rope-dancer, Harry Jermyn, afterwards Lord Dover; Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, then a page; Wycherley the poet, and Good-

afterwards known by the name of Mistris Palmer, made such court as thereupon to ascend to the dignity of Miss Paramount, and Dutchess of Cleveland afterward.

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man the player. On the neediest of those admirers she bestowed large sums of money, and lived to prove that ingratitude which generally attends meretricious profusion: become old, and poor, and a prey to gamblers, she was refused a loan of twenty guineas at the basset table by the Duke of Marlborough, upon whom, while a page, she had lavished, on one occasion, no less a sum than five thousand pounds. The yielding stay-lace, and a gush of blood from the nose, gave relief to the bitter agitations of her fury. (*Lord* CHESTERFIELD'S *Characters*—MANLEY'S *Atalantis.*)—There is a most extraordinary anecdote of this Duchess, who was a papist, contained in a MS. note of Lord Colrain's, in his copy of Dugdale's History of St Paul's Cathedral, afterwards in the Harleian library; if genuine, it proves that the violence of her religious bigotry equalled her other excesses, though the mummy of Bishop Braybrook afforded her a relic that few pious women but such devotees as herself would have thought it seemly to secure. Her husband, Lord Castlemaine, was also an enthusiast in the catholic faith, and a great traveller; he discovered that the Grand Turk is the great Leviathan; (*Vide an Account of the present War between the Venetians and the Turks, &c.* 1666.) and visited Palestine, to which Thomas Price, the editor of another of his works, wisely informs us he had a particular relation, by his name Palmer or Pilgrim. Andrew Marvel, in his "Instructions to a Painter, 1667," mentions,

> ——— "That isle,
> When Pilgrim Palmer travel'd in exile,
> With the bull's horn to measure his own head,
> And o'er Pasiphae's tomb to drop a bead."

He died in July 1705, and the Duchess, three months after, bestowed her withered hand on the celebrated beau Fielding, who used her so barbarously, "by beating her Grace, rifling her trunks, and locking her up a-days without sustenance, to starve her," (*Captain* SMITH'S *Court of Venus, vol. II. p.* 20,) that she was overjoyed to discover a former marriage into which the beau had been trepanned by the machinations of one Mary Wadsworth, a woman of ill-fame, who passed herself upon him as a widow with a fortune of forty thousand pounds; the Duchess had him tried for bigamy at the

Little thing was done at court for some weeks, except receiving presents and bestowing compliments. Only the king, to secure the people of England from hazard upon the old score, and also to secure himself from the danger of a desperate effort, indemnified the whole nation, excepting only some of his father's judges, and two private gentlemen, Sir Henry Vane and Major Lambert. The great offices were likewayes bestowed, as the present case required, for some old cavaleers were preferred, Hyde was made chancelour, some countrey lords, Southampton was made theasurer, some old roundheads, Manchester was made chamberlain, and some new favourites were advanced, as Monck was duke and great minion. Diverse of the nonconform ministers, after they hade preached before the king with applause, were nominate his chaiplanes, and so continued some moneths. He in the mean time bemoaning to his old friends in secret, that he could not find places enough to obliedge his old enemys whom in that juncture of time he behooved to preferr to his

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Old Bailey, and he was condemned to be burnt on the hand, but had previously procured the Queen's warrant to suspend execution of the sentence. Orlando the Fair, for so Fielding is termed by the Tatler, died in the Fleet prison; and a dropsy carried off the Duchess, 1709, in her 69th year; "how penitent," says Captain Smith, "I know not; but this I may observe of her Grace, had her honour and chastity equalled her wit and beauty, those accomplishments would have made her an angel on earth and a saint in heaven." It is very probable that none of her children, except the Duke of Cleveland, were by the king; indeed it was a long while before Charles could be brought to acknowledge the Duke of Grafton, who was looked upon by all the world as the son of her favourite, Churchill. Her daughter, Lady Barbara, had a child to Lord Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, which was born at Cleveland House, London, 1691, during Arran's confinement in the Tower. Queen Mary and the Duke of Hamilton, enraged at the discovery of the intrigue, made Lady Barbara's retreat to the continent the principal stipulation of his release; the unfortunate lady withdrew to the nunnery of Pontoise, where she died.

old friends. But with English affairs wee purpose not much to meddle.

Now before wee speak of the alteration court influences made upon the church of Scotland, let us consider in what case it was at this time. There be in all Scotland some 900 paroches, divided into 68 presbytries, which are again canton'd into fourteen synods, out of all which, by a solemn legation of commissioners from every presbytrie, they used yearly to constitute a national assembly. At the king's return every paroche hade a minister, every village hade a school, every family almost had a Bible, yea, in most of the countrey all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles, either by the parents or their ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the reformed religion, according to the large confession of faith framed at Westminster by the divines of both nations. Every minister was obliedged to preach thrice a-week, to lecture and catechise once, besides other private duties wherein they abounded, according to their proportion of faithfulness and abilities. None of them might be scandalous in their conversation, or negligent in their office, so long as a presbytrie stood; and among them were many holy in conversation and eminent in gifts; the dispensation of the ministry being fallen from the noise of waters and sound of trumpets to the melody of harpers, which is, alace! the last messe in the banquet; nor did a minister satisfy himself except his ministry hade the seal of a divine approbation, as might witness him to be really sent from God. Indeed, in many places the spirit seemed to be powred out with the word, both by the multitude of sincere converts, and also by the common work of reformation upon many who never came the length of a communion; there were no fewer than sixty aged people, men and women, who went to school, that even then they might be able to read the Scriptures with their own eyes. I have lived many years in a paroch where I

never heard ane oath, and you might have ridde many miles before you hade heard any: Also, you could not for a great part of the countrey have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and publick prayer. No body complained more of our church government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broke, people were become so sober. The great blemish of our church was, the division betwixt protesters and publick resolution-men, (as they were called) but as this was inconsiderable upon the matter, so was it also pretty well composed by express agreement among brethren, even while the English continued our governours. It was also much bemoaned, that though ministers continued in possession of presbyteries and synods, yet hade wee no assembly after the king's first landing, save only one, so jealous were the English of that dreadfull name. But for this it was thought the Lord compensed the external form by his internal power, and high authority is alwayes dangerous, except amongst subdued spirits; yet, even at this time, did they who were wise and provident, perceive on the spirits and behaviour of this grave people tokens of ane approaching change, and this was publickly declared to the people in many places, as it was also more firmly apprehended by many, than improven, alace! by those who were concerned.

Now, in the midst of this deep tranquility, as soon as the certainty of the king's return arrived in Scotland, I believe there was never accident in the world altered the disposition of a people more than that did the Scottish nation. Sober men observed, it not only inebriat but really intoxicate, and made people not only drunk but frantick; men did not think they could handsomely express their joy, except they turned brutes for debauch, rebels and pugeants; yea, many a sober man was tempted to exceed, lest he should be condemned as unnatural, disloyal, and unsensible. Most of the no-

bility, and many of the gentry and hungry old souldiers, flew to London, just as the vulture does to the carcase. And though many of them were bare enough, they made no bones to give 15 of the 100 of exchange. Then when they were come to court, they desired no more advyce but to know the king's inclinations, and he was the best politician that could outrun obedience, by anticipating a command. Alwayes at their arrival almost all hade good words, some hade pensions never to be payed, and some who came in time hade offices for awhile. Glencairn was made chancelour for his adventure among the tories, Crawford theasurer for his long imprisonment, Lauderdale was made secretary, and the only one Scottish gentleman of the bed-chamber, that he might be always near his very kind master. Sir William Fleeming was made clerk of the register, a place of great gain, for which he was as fitt as to be professor of the metaphysicks in ane university; but he was so wise as to sell it to Sir Archibald Primrose, who could husband it better, as indeed he did, for in a few years he multiplied his estate, by just computation, from one to sixteen. Sir John Fletcher was made king's advocate, though he hade been one of the first in Scotland who forsware the king, that he might find employment under the English. But partly by Middleton's procurement, (of whose affinity he was,) and partly because he was ane honest man of the new mode, (that is, a man void of principles,) he was placed in that dangerous office, in which he hade the opportunity to make all the subjects of Scotland redeem their lives at his own price, from his criminal pursuit, upon the account of their old alleadged rebellions, and their late compliances with the English, in which himself had been a ringleader. Middleton was judged a fitt man to act the part which afterward he did discharge over and above. He hade, from the degree of a pickman in Colonel Hepburn's regiment in France, by his great gallantry, raised himself to the chief command, sometimes in

the parliament's armys, and afterwards in the king's, though he was als unhappy under the latter as he was successful under the first. Alwayes because of his constant adherence to the king, even in his exile, (wherein he suffered much) and the great adventures he hade made among the tories in the Highlands, when the English commanded Scotland, and most of all because of his fierce souldier-like disposition, he was judged a fitt instrument to cow Scotland, and bring that people down from their ancient freedom of spirit (so much displeasing to their late king) to that plyant softness which might better suite with the designes of a free prince. In his exile in Germany he was wont to boast, how in his youth a certain palmister hade assured him he should rise to great honors, and even to the supreme command of his countrey; but the end of this prediction he alwayes concealed, which made his companions suspect it was tragical, as afterward it did indeed prove.* However, he was nomi-

* "Sir William Dugdale did inform me that Major-General Middleton (since Lord) went into the Highlands of Scotland, to endeavour to make a party for King Charles the First. An old gentleman (that was second-sighted) came and told him that his endeavour was good; but he would be unsuccessful, and moreover, that they would put the king to death: and that several other attempts would be made, but all in vain: but that his son would come in, but not reign; but at last would be restored. This Lord Middleton had a great friendship with the Laird Bocconi, and they had made an agreement that the first of them that died should appear to the other in extremity. The Lord Middleton was taken prisoner at Worcester fight, and was prisoner in the Tower of London, under three locks. Lying in his bed pensive, Bocconi appeared to him; my Lord Middleton asked him if he were dead or alive? he said dead, and that he was a ghost; and told him, that within three days he should escape, and he did so, in his wife's cloaths. When he had done his message, he gave a frisk, and said,

Givanni, Givanni, 'tis very strange,
In the world to see so sudden a change;

nate commissioner for the parliament presently to be called, in which he most effectually destroyed the covenant, (much against his solemn engagement in the church of Dundee, where, with the tears in his eyes, he confessed his covenant breaking, in joyning with the duke's engagement, promising for ever thereafter to be a covenant keeper,) and that was his great errand to Scotland. The Earle of Lithgow he was made colonel of the regiment of foot-guards, a place in which he feathered his nest well; but no man could give the reason of his promotion, unlesse the descent of a popish family might perchance promise satisfieing inclinations toward hidden designes. The poor old maimed officers, colonels, majors, and captains,

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and then gathered up, and vanished. This account Sir William Dugdale had from the Bishop of Edinburgh."—AUBREY's *Miscellanies*, p. 113.

This strange story is told after a different manner by the Rev. Mr Robert Law, in "Memorialls of remarkable Things in his Time, from 1639 to 1684," MS.—"The late Lord Midleton, in the yeir 1650, being in cumpany with the Laird of Barbigno, in Stirling, before the fight at Dunbar, in a drunken rant, covenanted one with another, that which of them dyes first should come to the surviving person, and give him newes from the dead. This Barbigno dyeing first, the devill in his lykness comes to Midleton, when he was prisoner at London, and putts him in mynd of his covenant, and now that he had come to fulfill it, and told him he should be once a great man, and should escape prison, but advised him to take heid of his end. And so it fell out. He was afterward, at the king's return, made commissioner to his parliament in Scotland, but was outed by the Lord Lauderdale, and sent over by the king to Tangiers to be governour of it. Where, upon a certain tyme, he proving a young horse, was cast off by him, and in the fall hurt himself exceedingly, so that he sickens and dyes of it.

Plumaches above, and Gamaches below,
It's no wonder to see how the world doth go."

These lines, with which Law concludes his story, appear to be another reading of the spirit's speech in Aubrey's narrative.

who expected great promotion, were preferred to be troupers in the king's troup of life-guards, of which Newburgh was made captain. This goodly imployment obliedged them to spend with one another the small remnant of the stock their miseries hade left them, but more they could not have, after all their hopes and sufferings. Gentlemen and lords came down from court with empty purses and discontented minds, having nothing to put in place of their flown money, except the experience of a disappointment, which uses to be a bitter reflection upon a man's own indiscretion, in mistaking measures, and making false judgement upon events, as they hade done. There remained only one comfort among them, which was, that when the phanatick should be fined and forfaulted, they should glut themselves with the spoil; and this was enough to some thoughtless minds, but was indeed as groundless as fruitless, for never one of them ever tasted that much desired fruit.

But though England after all the bloody war was intirely indemnified, (excepting only the king's judges, and Vane* and Lambert,) poor forlorn Scotland was wholly shutt up under wrath. The whole nation was concluded guilty of treason, in submitting to the conquering English, and hade nothing now before their eyes, but either to turn court converts, contrare to their old professions and consciences, or to expect certain threatned destruction, and some were quickly made examples. The first thunder-clap of royal indigna-

* "When Sir Harry Vane saw his death was designed, he composed himself to it with a resolution that surprised all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some instances of this were very extraordinary, though they cannot be mentioned with decency." BURNET'S *Hist. vol. I. p.* 164.—On this Swift remarks, "his lady conceived by him the night before his execution." The posthumous child tradition asserts to have been very like the Vane family, which should obviate any suspicion of the lady's honour. This anecdote of Vane is almost as extraordinary as that which Captain Creichton relates of the Reverend Mr David Williamson.

tion fell upon the Marques of Argyle, who, upon the news of his majesties return, and (as it was believed) upon good encouragement to expect hearty welcome, when he hade posted to London with the rest, entering Whitehall with confidence to salute his majesty, had only this for his entertainment, that, as soon as ever the king heard he was there, with ane angry stamp of the foot, he commanded Sir William Fleeming to execute his orders, who thereupon conveyed the Marques straight to the Tower, there to ly till he was sent down to Scotland to die a sacrifice to royal jealousy and revenge. His imprisonment was not at first much bemoaned by ignorant people, partly because he was among all the grandees head of that party that kept most closs to the covenant, from which a great part of the nation hade made defection, and partly because he hade kept his authority after the fall of almost all his competitors, which occasioned him (as is usual) a great deal of envy, and being very wise and politick, he was by many reckoned either subtile or false; however, his imprisonment was constructed by these who were wise and constant covenanters, to be a stroke at the root, as afterwards it clearly proved, but whether from hatred for what was past, or jealousie of what might come, it was thought good to remove this obstacle out of the way.

The next blast fell upon three gentlemen, Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, Sir John Chiesly, and Sir James Stewart, whom the king, by a letter, ordered Major-General Morgan, at that time commander of the English forces in Scotland, to sease and incarcerat: Wariston escaped for the first day by hearing the news of his friends' imprisonment, when he was very near the town upon his return from a friendly visit. But the Major-general hearing Sir John was in a private house about his busieness, taking alongst with him Sir James, being provest of Edinburgh for the time, went straightway to the house where Sir John was, and instantly required Sir James,

(it belonging to his office) to apprehend Sir John and carrie him to the castle, whither all the three went, and when Sir James was to take leave of Sir John his friend, the Major-general told him he behooved to stay and bear Sir John company, and there he left them both prisoners for many a day. These three gentlemen hade been the heads of the Remonstrators, a sort of men hated by the king above all mortals. And whether it was for their displeasing principles in state matters, or their strict principles in morals, God knows; but it was believed they suffered as much from hatred as from fear. However, these two gentlemen were still either in prison or under bond, till death sett them free, and with great difficulty they escaped with their afflicted lives.*

* Sir John Chiesley of Carswell was originally the servant of Alexander Henderson, and had been knighted by the king in the Isle of Wight. Sir James Stewart of Coltness finally obtained his releasement 1670, and died 1681. The following panegyric on sundry of their fellow-sufferers, is extracted from the "Preface of a Sermon preached at Hemplar-bank, 1676, by John Welch, late minister of Irongray, in Galloway:"—

"Sirs, I do not grudge much that I see not many of these folk that they call Gentiles here; I shall never repine at that which Christ rejoices in; I thank thee, O Father, who hath revealed these things into babs. What is come of them all?—there is never one of the lords and lairds and great men (as ye call them) for him. And it is a great mercy, God hath taken a sacrifice, and a noble sacrifice, at the very beginning; he took a nobleman at the beginning, that worthy great man, the Marquess of Argyle, and he got a minister too to seal his covenant. And a very worthy man he got, a gentleman, a very eminent considerable gentleman, Wariston, that worthy gentleman, he died for the covenant. He has taken one of all ranks to seal the covenant and his truths; and then after that, he took the commons, he took many of them that were poor men that he brought out, and honoured them with scaffolds, and gave testimony for the cause and covenant of God. And ever since that day, there is ay some body that follows him, and ay some body that God takes testimony from: some with fyning, and some with confyning, and some with imprisonment. Ye that are young ones, it may be ye will spier the question, Wherefore was it that all that was? and how came

Yet all this could not terrifie that sort of people called protesters, but they still thought it their duty to essay somewhat for the publick interest, even of the most unpleasant nature and most dangerous consequence in the world, and that was to admonish their covenanted king of duty. So waiting that very day whereupon the committee of estates appointed by the last preceeding Scots parliament in the year 1651 were first to constitute themselves a committee, some of these protesters, conveening in Robert Simpson's house in Edinburgh, resolved to address his majesty by a supplication. Their names were Mrs James Guthrie, Robert Traile, Alexander Moncreif, John Semple, John Scot, John Stirling, Gilbert Hall, John Murray, George Nairn, and Thomas Ramsey, in all ten ministers, with two gentlemen, Mr Andrew Hay of Craignethan, and James Kirkco of Sandiwell; and in this their address, after a full acknowledgement of the Lord's mercy in delivering the king, and deep protestations of their loyalty, they humbly crave leave to put him in mind of the covenant obligations upon his own person, and the nations over which the Lord had placed him, wishing his return might be like the reign of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah, and so conclude as it is to be seen in the printed coppy. That same day, the Committee of Estates, after nine years interruption by the English, mett and constitute themselves the first Scottish judicatory after the Revolution. There were present the chancelor, president, and some few others lately advanced to places, or who expected advancement speedily. Alwayes upon hearing of the

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it that their preachings were upon hill sides, and that persecution was? It may be the day is coming it will be told; and we tell you it the day from this hill side, it will be told; and the young ones will spier, How could that be? (co' the bairns)—was that in covenanted Scotland? what was the cause of this? there but to be some abominable provoking cause of this; and it will be answered, It was even the sins of his people that had provoked him."

meeting of the ministers, they instantly dispatch some gentlemen to the house, where they seased all the men with their papers upon the table: only Mr Andrew Hay hade the happiness to escape after the messengers entered the room. All the rest were carried to the castle, and some of them were never liberat from prison but by the sentence of death. This meeting hade resolved to call another meeting of their brethren at Glasgow, within a few weeks, to consider what was to be done in the present case; but the meeting never conveen'd.

It was a sad observation, that that very day of the moneth, being the 23d of August, was the very same day whereon, a 100 years before, the popish religion hade been abolished and the true religion established in parliament, and some feared this might be the turning of the tide backwards. It was also the first act of our new governours, and some apprehended it should not be the last of that nature. But the committee were not so severe unto all, for at that very time they liberat several bloody murderers out of prison without punishment. This designed paper of the ministers was presented to his majesty, than which nothing could have been less acceptable. But it was not presented as the humble petition of the poor ministers, but, alace! as their lybell and accusation, or as a testimony of the diligence of our new statesmen, and was entertained by him only with disdain and laughter; the terror of which made divers of the addressers to waver and faint in their adherence to their designed testimony, which was the first weakness found among the ministers of that party; but it was then the hour and power of darkness.

The Committee of Estates did little that harvest, only they called for these gentlemen that were called Remonstrators and Protestors, engadgeing them, by threatnings and imprisonment, to give bond

for the peace, and to disown the remonstrance, to which few of them were accessory. They sent also for Mr Patrick Gillespie out of Glasgow, and him they laid up in Stirling Castle, to bide his tryal before the ensuing parliament. Also, the souldiers without order seased Mr James Simpson, minister at Airth, as he was upon his journey for Ireland, upon purpose to settle in the ministry there; but the Committee of Estates retained him when once brought before them, (though never so illegally) till the parliament banished him Scotland. The rest of that time was spent in choosing commissioners through the counties and towns, and makeing preparation for the approaching parliament, which was appointed to meet at Edinburgh, Jan. 1, 1661. But the ministers, called publick resolution men, must in this mean time doe something; Mr James Sharp, their trustee, hade been very early commissionat by them, and his charges liberally provided, even while the king was in Holland; and after his return (as was reported by themselves) the ministers of Edenburgh thought good to direct a letter to the king, but what the purport of that letter was, few knew except their agent, for it was never published, only it was thought to be of a far softer strain than the protesters' letter was, and that it did produce the goodly letter to the presbyterie of Edinburgh, which the king was pleased at that time to direct to them by Sharp, (together with 20 chalders of victual to himself yearlie for a reward of his diligence,) which made so great a noise in Scotland for a while.

The letter bare date September 3, 1660. And in it, first, he reflects severly upon those he never loved, the protesters. Next, to quench the jealousy of some well-meaning people, he engadges to discountenance profaneness, and contemners of ordinances, also to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to maintain the acts of the Assembly at St Andrews and Dundee, (these were almost only

levelled at the protesters,) promising also to call for Mr Robert Douglass, and some others, that he might advice with them; so exhorting them to keep within their sphere, (a darling phrase at that time,) he recommends himself to their prayers, and so concludes. This letter, when it came to the presbytery of Edinburgh, was received with no small joy, and by them printed and transmitted to all the presbyteries of Scotland. And indeed it hade its perfect designed effect; for, as it was contrived by the court and Mr Sharp to instigate judicatories to the destruction of the protesters, (whom the court knew well to be most resolute enemies to their designes,) so in this it hade its effect. Our synods after this doing little other thing then censuring and laying aside those of that way; and tho' the preceding harvest before the king's return, all the synods of Scotland hade aggreed to bury by past differences; yet, upon the receipt of this blest letter, the old wounds opened, and wherever the publick resolution-men were the plurality, the protesters were censured upon the burried differences. In the synod of Merse they laid aside five ministers; in Lothian, many were laid aside both in Lithgow and Biggar presbyteries; so it was in Perth and in the north; and the truth is, hade not the course of synods been interrupted by the introduction of bishops, few hade keeped their places who were afterward ejected by that infamous proclamation at Glasgow, in the year 1662.

But the marrow of the gracious letter (as they called it) was the king's promise to protect and defend the government of the church, as it is settled by law. Here the church divided; the publick men maintained stoutly that the king in these words engadged to defend the presbyterian government for ever, for as much as at that time it was the government settled by law. The protesters smiled, and said to their brethren, they were bade grammarians in taking the infinitive mode for the indicative, and that the clause imported no

more, but the king resolved to maintain that government of the church which at any time comeing should be the legal government, whatever it was or should be; and that as in that year, 1660, the government was presbyterial, so in the year 1662, the legal government might be episcopacy, and either of these the king engadged to protect. Providence cleared and confirmed this interpretation. However, the ministers of Edinburgh were in such a transport of joy upon the letter, they thought it not enough to praise it in their pulpits, but bought for it a silver box, a shrine for such a precious relict, which was both Sharp's contrivance and his message.

Several other ministers were brought into trouble that harvest, upon the account of free speaking, such as Mr James Newsmith, Mr William Wishart, and Mr John Dicksone, who was convict of sedition and treason; and all this was done to terrifie the spirits of that sort of men who followed the good old way of the Church of Scotland. And indeed sad was the frame of spirit of the people of Scotland at that time; for, first, every man knew well no man in the nation was either sure of life or estate, since it was certain our new rulers resolved to make submitting to the conquering English a crime capital, tho' this was a practise without a precedent, and these who were their than judges and persecutors of their neighbours were the guiltiest in the land. Sharp was the first man that ever engadged for the peace of the English government, (when all his fellow-prisoners in the Tower refused it.) Moreover, every thinking man saw ruine at the door; for all that would not profess the change of principles, and be for the introduction of episcopacy, as many did against their own consciences.* And last of all, to

* "But now you see what is the duty or office of a king; to bring back the people of God to God; wa! what has the king done and these rulers?" wa! their exercise in these kingdoms has been to debauch folk from their obedience to God; in a word, it

destroy all hope of mercy, the king, by a proclamation dated October 12, 1660, declared he hade wholly devolved upon the ensueing parliament the consideration and judging the behaviour of these subjects dureing the time of the late troubles; dischargeing any subject in Scotland to trouble him with any addresse or petition whatsoever, and commanding them all to submitt to and acquiesce in the determination of the parliament; and this was understood to be no act of indemnity. Now divisions among ministers began to leaven high; the protesters crying out upon the silence and blindness of publick men; these again fretting to see themselves not only disappointed but mocked, and their antagonists in probability to carrie the verdict and approbation of Providence; yet still struggling to keep a sort of presbyterians in favours with the king, if it were but a concurring with him for destroying the protesters, the men they knew well he so much hated; and these divisions were of great use to the enemies of presbyterian government, so sad was the heart of every one that feared a God. But hade you been in the country to observe the frame and behaviour of our nobles and gentry, as they came down from court, you would have

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has been to exauterate that authority of God, and introduce and heighten men's authority; and has not that been that which all of them has been carrying on? Let the commands of man be great to you, and the commands of God be small; this they have employed themselves all into: but never a word of the commands of God, nor his authority. But I say, this is the work and matter he employs himself into; he goeth through Judah, and he bringeth the people back again to God, like run-away servants, or the Levite's concubine. They had been away: but now this holy king he employs all his power to bring them back again to God; and he thinks them good subjects, if they be good saints. But what is obedience to him in respect of obedience to God? but the contrary is said and done by the men of this generation: we are sure we see this plain from the scripture, or word of God, that this is a part of the office of a king: and he that hath no regard to this, ought no more to be esteemed a king, but a tyrant and enemy to God."—*Sermon by Mr* DONALD CARGILL.

thought that they had been in another world, where men change their genius, and every way to the worse. Many of them brought down a contagious disease, (which at that time began to be very common, and forsooth to be commended and called Legall,) but they brought also with them more contagious manners, principalls, and discourses: No talk there was of reformation, but high were the clamours against the behaviour of the nation in opposing their graceious king. Great were the commendations of the king's excellencies: terrible threatenings against his enemies, amongst whom all were to be listed that were not released by a deed of favour to be purchased at the rate of changing their principles and professions. As for that notion Religion, many of them hade it in the same esteem a chamber-maid has a spider in a window, wishing heartily to be rid of it; and if they could not destroy the thing, they resolved at least to suppresse the name: Nothing to be seen but debauch and revelling, nothing heard but clamorous crimes, all flesh corrupted their way.* Hade you been a protester and in one

* "The saints hes set up stoupps and way marks in every laire, and cryes ryd about, howbeit fooles too many will throw at the nearest and stick ther; the saints going before is a benefite to us, we see the pooles and stanks that cumbered them. Hold off adulterie, David stuck in that laire. Hold off drunkenness, Noah and Lot weat their feet in that dub. Beware to mock and persecute the saints, Paul's ship had almost sunk in that sand. See the dead carcases lying in the gate, Judas, Demas, Hymeneus, and Philites, brak their necks in making a mint to Canaan. Mak this use of holy men's lives here condemned that followed the devil's cloud of witnesses, the world, and the fashions thereof. Rom. 12. Be not ye conform to the world, follow not their guyses, and yet we can justifie all the ill we doe. Wherefor is vanities in marriages and banquets, it is the fashion say they. Wherefor vanity of apparel, so that women are turned guysers and monsteres, and men are putting haill barronies of land upon their backs. It is the fashion, say they. O proud and poor Scotland, men cutted out to the skin, and women wants not vanity; but they are not cutted to the bone, wherefrae comes whoring, swearing, drinking, Whom see ye otherways? says they, is not this

of our synods that harvest, you should have thought yourself a captive in ane enemies court of guard; it was not enough to censure them, but it was done with so much spite and disdain, notwithstanding their late agreement, it was a horror to a man to behold it: and as for the disposition of the people of the nation, it divided the nation into despair because of their late complyance with the conquering English, and hope to raise a broken estate out of the spoils of forlorn fanaticks. This was the compellation by which that self-seeking man Monck hade blasted honest people, who would not serve their own interests to the ruine of their profession, as he had done.

Few of our noblemen who hade been actors in the late times were then alive, and of the old men, some of them were devoted to destruction, as Loudon; some hade perfectly sold themselves to vain hopes, as Home; the rest were mostly young men, bred in want, when their fathers were pinched by their creditors, under the

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the fashion of this age?—if ye but follow such a cloud of witnesses, let me conclud, run to hell too, for I assure you that is the fashion. "Let us run the race."—Demas gallopped a while after the gospel, and Paul thought it a hungrie gate, and the world crossed his gate, the world in her silks and velvets like a faire strumpet, ran in his way and gave him a kiss, and he to the gate, sorrow of his part of any more of the gospel. The third sort is those that has some more love to this race, and yet they cannot away with the world like a young man (Matth. xix. 2 and 22 verse) that ran to Christ and said he keeped the commandments from his youth; when Christ bad him goe and sell all he had and give it to the poor, and come and follow him, he went away with his heart in his hose, looked as if his nose wer bleeding, for he had great possessions. Will thou make Christ a pack horse to carrie thy clay and thy lusts? how long is it since he behoved to cary thy pockmantie? believe me he is no cadger horse; Judas and Demas, and the like, that would have ridden upon Christ with all their baggs of clay. ken ye how Christ did with them? he flang them and their clay off at the broad side, and let them ly ther, and posted away."—*Sermon by that flower of the church, Mr* SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, *4to.*

English, haveing no hope but in the king's favour, whose humour they were to study at any rate, and one engadged another. Among the affrighted people of the countrey, some choised the chancellor for their patron to keep them from a capital pursuite; some choised the register, (and these were great gainers); but most of all, Sir John Fletcher, the new advocate, was courted with vaste soumes. He used a sett form of speech, by which he made people understand they behooved to give him money, which was so very common in his house, that when poor gentlemen hade sent their servants to his house with a load of money, which was the ordinary present, his wife would command the bearer to throw it down upon the floor, as if it hade been coals or billets for the fire; but within four years it became more precious in that house, however very much was given amongst those who hade power either to sell favour or pervert justice.

About this time died the Duke of Glocester, and of the small-pox, in a manner much lamented, by the secure ignorance of his physicians, who sent him viols instead of prayers to convey him to the next world; also the Queen of Bohemia, after the most unhappy life of any princess in the world; and, lastly, the Princess of Orange, of whom as yet the world has not seen the secret history.* The spirit that moved the whole engyne of the Scottish govern-

* The Princess of Orange, after having long supported an unblemished reputation for chastity and prudence, was finally supposed to have shown too much partiality towards Henry Jermyn, afterwards Lord Dover.—*Vide King Charles's Letter to his Sister on the subject of Jermyn.*—THURLOW's *State Papers, vol. I. p.* 663.—She also suffered herself to be persuaded by her mother, who, says Burnet, had the art of making *herself* believe any thing she had a mind to, that the King of France might be inclined to marry her; and on that idea went to Paris with so extravagant an equipage, that she involved herself in debts, and was compelled to sell all her jewels, together with some estates that were in her power as her son's guardian.—BURNET, vol. I. p. 238.

Archbishop Sharp

ment, in order to the great designed alteration, was Mr James Sharp, a man whose name is better known than his history, of which there is a great deal more true than will be believed, as it uses to be in cases and events extraordinary. His father was sheriff-clerk in the shyre of Banff:* his mother was a gentlewoman of

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* "As to his father, William Sharp, we shall give this short account of him, that he was the son of a piper, who was only famous for his skill in the spring, called Coffie. But although the grandfather had been less skilful in his calling, (of which we find little use, but to induce wantonness and obscenity,) and although his springs had given no price, yet we think it had been more for the advantage of the church, at least it should have received less detriment, if the grandchild had been bound his apprentice, and had been rather a piper than a prelate: but we might well have wanted both the one and the other; pipers and prelates agree well together for the service of their belly. God cannot be enough promoted without such instruments as blows up their lust; but if the pipe and bags be yet in the prelate's possession, (which belongs to him as eldest son to his father, and so heir by progress to his grandfather,) it is like he may have use for them, to gift them to some landart church, to save the expences of a pair of organs, which may do well enough for our rude people, who can sing as well to the one as to the other. And if instrumental music in the service of God be Juris Divini, (as the prelates highly assert it,) it cannot be thought that any people should be so phanatick, as to admit the organs in divine service, and refuse the bag-pipe, especially it being the prelate's gift, and all the heirship goods that he had of his grandfather, which he would so freely bestow upon the church."—*Life of Archbishop Sharp*, 12*mo*.

Another biographer states, that the archbishop was grandson to a gentleman in Perthshire, whose son, named David, became a considerable merchant in the town of Aberdeen, and married Magdalen Haliburton, nearly related to the family of Pitcur, by whom he had William Sharp, sheriff-clerk of Banffshire, who married Isabel Lesley, daughter to the Laird of Kininvy, descended from the family of Rothes. The author of a libel on Sharp, entitled "A Character of the Monster of Inhumanitie, who is the great Reproach of Mankynd; or, Judas, Scoto-Britannus, his Lyfe, Lamentation, and Legacie," (MS. Adv. Lib.) remarks, that during the power of the Duke of Rothes in Scotland, "that relation was then, on both hands, often remembered." The archbishop himself married Miss Moncrief of Randerston, described in the libellous

the name of Lesley, of whom it was observed, that all the time this her goodly son was in her belly, she would never taste liquor, except only wine, (herein he was not a deliverer like Sampson.) His education was mean: he was a poor schollar in St Andrews in the time Spotswood was archbishop, and before Duncelaw. There goes a story of him which I have many time heard before his miserable death, that while he was a schollar in the colledge, lying in one bed with his comerad, one night in his sleep and dream he fell into a loud laughter, and therein continued a pretty time, till his bedfellow thought fitt to awake him, and ask him what the matter was, and why he was so merry. He answered, he hade been dreaming the Earle of Crawford hade made him parson of Creil, which was a great matter in his eyes at that time. Another night, in bed with

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Life of the Primate, as "an ordinary swearer, tipler, scold, and prophaner of the Sabbath-day," while the other narrative extolls her character to the skies. That Sharp himself has been more blamed than he deserved for promoting episcopacy in Scotland, is certain. The measure would have been carried through without his aid, and in spite of his opposition. And the heavy charge of having previously deceived his constituents at the Restoration, when sent up from Scotland to court, still remains unproved. The presbyterians always affirmed him guilty of this treachery; but his own party asserted, that while employed by the presbyterians, he acted fairly; and bore no commission from them, when he gave way to the stream of episcopacy. Moreover, Wodrow is accused of gross injustice in garbling Sharp's letters to Douglas; and Burnet is known to have been so great an enemy to the archbishop, that his conduct is not to be estimated from the statements of that most spiteful and disingenuous author. He certainly, as a clergyman, was regular in his deportment; and it is known that he dispensed charity with a liberal hand, even to the poor of the presbyterian principles, employing for that purpose a daughter of Lord Warriston, who adhered to her father's creed. But private charities could not do away his public wickedness, for, "in a word, the ambition of Diotrephes, the covetousness of Demas, the treachery of Judas, the apostacy of Julian, and the cruelty of Nero, did all concenter in him."—*God's Justice exemplified in his Judgements upon Persecutors, &c.—See also* BURNET, WODROW, &c. &c. &c.

the same bedfellow, he fell asleep, and in his sleep a laughing, which made his comerad wonder what the matter was, for he laughed a great deal louder than at the first; so his comerad thought fitt to awake him again, with which he was very much offended, for (said he to his bedfellow) I thought I was in a paradise, because the king hade made me Archbishop of St Andrews. Then said his comerad, I hope ye will remember old friends: Afterward he fell a dreaming once more, and in his dream a weeping, and wept most lamentably for a long time. His comerad thought he should not be blamed any more for interruptions, and so suffered him to continue a long time; at length he awoke, and when his comerad told him he had changed his tune, and asked what the matter was, he answered, he had been dreaming a very sad dream, and that was, that he was driving in a coach to hell, and that very fast. What way he drove I shall not say, but all the countrey knew he drove most fiercely to his death that day he was killed, tho' he choised bypaths, because of some warnings he hade that morning at Kennaway, where he had lodged.*

He was a man of parts and a schollar, as he shewed himself when a regent in St Andrews, but a schollar rather cautious than able; rarely would he ever engadge in a dispute, lest he might fall under disadvantage, and never would be the opponent, which he knew was the most difficult part. His great gift was his prudence, dissimulation, and industry, which qualified him well for his terrible underta-

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* "That truculent traitor, James Sharp, the arch-prelat, &c., received the just demerit of his perfidie, perjury, apostacy, sorceries, villanies, and murders, *sharp arrowes of the mighty, and coals of juniper*. For, upon the 3d of May, 1679, several worthy gentlemen, with some other men of courage and zeal for the cause of God, and the good of the country, executed righteous judgement upon him in Magus Moor, near St Andrews."—*A Hind let loose, by the Rev.* ALEXANDER SHIELDS, p. 123.

kings. He was by all that knew him taken to be no better than a flate Atheist; he used no private prayers, and once in a moneth served his family: yea, he was known to be a man of a flagitious life, and not only a debauched pailliard, but a cruel murtherer. There was in St Andrews while he was a regent a beautifull serving woman, one Isobel Lindesay; her he debauched to be his whore: and when she had brought forth a poor infant, he strangled it with his own hands, and she buried it.* This the poor woman, from trouble of mind, revealed to many. When he was at his highest, yea, when he was preaching to his diocesian meeting, she stood up before all his miserable underlings, exhorting them to beware of one that would lead them to the Devil; and as she was about to proclaim the sad story, she was by his friends interrupted, and imprisoned; yet durst they never put the matter to a tryal, lest the truth should have appeared: Yea, when she came to complain to the king's councill, it was thought wisdom to pass it over in silence. Many believed him to be a demonaick and a witch; it is certain, when he was killed, they found about him beside his dagger, in his pocket, (without which he never walked) several strange things, such as pairings of nailes and such like, which were judged inchantments.

* This story seems to have been founded on the ravings of a mad woman, who disturbed the congregation while at sermon in St Andrews, by starting up, and bestowing many scurrilous epithets on the archbishop. She declared that she once saw Archbishop Sharp, Dr Pitullo, and Mr Robert Rait, minister of Dundee, all dancing in the air. "And her head ran so much upon witches that she frequently complained, there was no course now taken with them, which was not wont to be; and actually scandalized an honest woman for being one, which she complained of to the ministers of the place; and all the ground she had for it was that the honest woman's husband (when melancholy) called her an old witch; and when she would have gone to her cellar, and heard rats, she used to say over and over again, God keep me from witches."—SHARP'S *Life, Appendix to the Preface.*

And this I can say of certain knowledge, the chirurgeon who first handled his body, when dead, told me his body was not pierced with any of the ball shott at him, tho' at a very near distance.* Yet did this woefull man insinuate so far upon the leaders of the publick resolution party, as to be by them constitute their agent and procurator both at Cromwell's court and the king's. And when he was by some blamed for overturning the government he was sent to preserve, he answered, he was sent to suppress the protesting party, and if that was not done effectually let him be blamed: But at the time of the new parliament he ruled all.

About this time the king, to strengthen himself with friendship abroad, made a league with the United Provinces, wherein it was

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* Yet he was wounded by a shot, below the right clavicle, betwixt the second and third rib, as is proven by the certificate of several medical men, made public in order to confute the idea of his invulnerability. At that time, notions of spells to prevent gun-shot wounds were common, and most of the persecutors, as they are called, were supposed to possess such secrets. "Witches can make stick-fries, such as shall endure a rapier's point, musket-shot, and never be wounded; of which reade more in Boissardus, cap. 6. de Magia, the manner of adjuration, and by whom 'tis made, where and how to be used "in expeditionibus, bellicis, præliis, duellis, with many peculiar instances and examples." BURTON'S *Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. I. p.* 179.—For the method of forming a waistcoat of proof, *vide* SCOTT'S *Discovery of Witchcraft.* The Earl of Gowrie, slain at Perth, wore magical characters, which only prevented an effusion of blood, useless, one would think, save against hemorrhage of the nose, &c. The question respecting gun-shot invulnerability is thus sagely handled by a fanatical writer: "Perhaps some may think this, anent proof shot, a paradox, and be ready to object here as formerly, concerning Bishop Sharp and Dalziel, how can the devil have or give a power to save life? &c. Without entering upon the thing in its reality, I shall only observe, 1. That it is neither in his power or of his nature to be a saviour of men's lives; he is called Apollyon, the destroyer. 2. That even in this case he is said only to give enchantment against one kind of mettle, and this does not save life: for the lead would not take Sharp and Claverhouse's lives, yet steel and silver could do it: and for Dalziel, though he died not in the field, he did not escape the arrows of the Almighty."

observed he made a great many more provisions against his own subjects att home, who might disobey or rebell, than against his enemies abroad. And great was the caution that was used in the league, that none of his exiles should find shelter in these countreys any time hereafter; which yet he was not able to hinder when it was necessary: But this treaty of his was judged ominous.

LIB. III.

MIDDLETON'S FIRST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

Now when Scotland was in this sad discomposure, through desperate fear, drunken hope, burning avarice, and sad discouragement, upon the first of January, 1661, the terrible parliament conveened in great pomp. There you might have seen them who, some weeks before, were companions to owles, hydeing themselves from messengers pursueing them for debt, vapouring in scarlet and ermines, upon good hopes to be all men of gold. The new made Earle of Middletoun was commissioner; he had acquired honour from the king, but without estate; for he hade no more land but a small parcell he hade purchased with his pay under the covenanters, yet he was in good hope to be shortly a Duke when Argyle should be forfaulted, whose successor he hoped to be; but he missed his mark.

Alwayes whatever his secret instructions were, certainly his great design and business was to make the king absolute, and to make the tyrant described 1 Sam. 8. to be received and acknowledged for the true lawful king according to K. James his interpretation. For this cause defensive arms must be condemned for rebellion; non-resistance received for the first noble primitive Christian duty; the laws made only a signification of the king's pleasure, with which he might sport himself; and last of all, the people must believe the king to be universal lord of property of the subject, as Robert Hamilton disputed (for which he hade both ane estate and

honour) and Doctor Turner and More taught, and in this design indeed Middleton made a great progress.

The commissioners of counties and towns were according to the complexion of their principals who sent them. Many honest gentlemen were sent; but loyalty was so on horseback amongst them, and withall they were so much under fear for their late actings, which were all reputed treasonable, that their actings were very faint, and they might not name a God beside a king. The town of Lanerk sent a fellow who hade been their musician to be their commissioner, which occasioned a parliament jest, that Lanerk hade sent her town-piper to be her commissioner; and when Sir John Fletcher the advocate cursed and sware upon it, it was answered, there was not a man in all the town but such as were remonstrators (whom they would not receive) except their piper, and him they behooved of necessity to send. But when they were constitute, they acted so as to make their constitutions and actings disputeable unto this day; for whereas it was provided by the parliament immediatly preceeding, the king and three estates being present, that all ensueing parliaments should in the first place every man sign the covenant, otherwise the constitution of the parliament was declared null and void, this was at that time neglected; and when this was objected by Mr John Dick at his tryal some 28 years after, I never yet could hear ane answer to it: forasmuch as it was a parliament constitute contrare to the standing uncontraverted laws of the land. It hade been formerly the custome for the General Assembly or the Commission of the Church to provide preachers to the parliament; but this parliament would be their own carvers. So a letter from the king's advocate was made the call to preach before them. Indeed, on their first Sabbath, they employed Mr Robert Douglass, because of his great authority and unquestioned loyalty, (the virtue in respect,) and next after him Mr John

Smith, whom, because he affirmed many who called themselves the king's friends to be men that feared not God, they affronted in the next weekly gazette. But their delight was in the northern turncoats, such as Mr John Paterson, old and young, (both afterwards preferred to bishopricks,) and one Chalmbers, a man als perverse as profane, and, as it was confidently reported, flagitious; yet was he, even before episcopacy was established, promoted to one of the best benefices in Scotland (Dumfreice): and these enflamed the parliament in a strange manner, by proclaiming that which as yet was a secret. Their strain was the wickedness of rebellion, and such as they declared the late reformation and covenant (before the parliament hade declared it such); the sinfullness of defensive arms, condemning thereby not only the ancient national practise of Scotland, but many, or most of their present hearers; the largeness of the king's power, which they stretcht higher than any man could believe: and such stuff as this, instead of recommending either godliness or wisdom, hereby instigating their auditorie to all the ensueing severities which followed thereupon. Truely when a parliament man died, he did not use to employ one of these men, whom they knew well to serve their belly more than their God; but they were good enough to distemper a time and serve the turn, and indeed the best could be found in all Scotland.

Wee come now to the actings of this parliament. After Sharp hade seasoned them at their first meeting with his instructions, wherein he planted the root that brought forth all the bitter fruits, their first undertaking was to assert his majestie's royal prerogative, as they were pleased to entitle their acts of parliament, and this they sealed with ane oath, which they called only alleadgance, but was indeed supremacy, as you may see in the story. But because this oath was to be the foundation-stone of their whole building, therefore they began with it in their first act: wherein, after they

have declared the chancelor for the time to be the constant president in parliaments, (which was contrair to the practise of the covenanters, whom in every thing they would oppose,) they contrive the terms of their oath, which, because it is in print, I shall not transcribe. Only the matter of it is, first, a declaration that the king is the only supreme governour of this kingdome over all persons, and in all causes; next, the swearer renounces all forreign jurisdictions, and then engadges never to decline his majestie's power nor jurisdiction, as he shall answer to God. This became first the great object of dispute, thereafter the causes of bitter suffering. It was cunningly contrived in ambiguous termes, which they themselves would afterward interpret, without regard to the swearer's intention. Some said there was nothing in it but ane assertion of the king's lawfull power in civil causes; for it does not express his power in causes ecclesiastick, as the English oath of supremacy does. Others argued against it, first, because it is ambiguous, as no oath should be, in regard ambiguous propositions are not certain truths, even in Bishop Sanderson his learned opinion; and every oath ought to be certain truth, or else be rejected. Next, it was certain enough they designed a royal papacy; and as that was the sense intended, so the words would well bear it. Thirdly, the swearers engadged never to decline his majestie's authority, which is a larger extension of the royal supremacy than the English oath is, in regard the English oath allowes indeed a certain power to the king in all causes, (and a sort of power of this kind presbyterians allow,) but the Scottish oath implyes not only a power in all causes, but in all instances, which is a great deal more: So, if the king constitute himself judge in case of excommunication, the Scottish swearer must either sustain his authority in that cause, or else violate his oath; this was made the clear meaning of it, as was declared November 16, 1669, in Lauderdale's parliament, where the sense is

made als clear as ample, and as ample as terrible. However, at the time it was first framed, few members of parliament refused it, and only two noblemen (Cassills and Melvill) of all the peerage of Scotland. It became afterwards the states shiboleth for all the poor suspected people in Scotland; for their way was, whenever any suspected person was cited before them, to offer them this oath, and if they took it, whatever were objected against them they were absolved; but, if they were so scrupulous as to refuse, without ever calling a witness to prove the accusation, they were condemned without mercy, as many ane instance in record can prove.

Now, after they have installed their king a sort of Pope, they proceed by so many steps to explain or enlarge his prerogative; first, by declareing it to be a part of his prerogative to choice by himself alone his officers of state, counsellors and lords of session; next, that it is his prerogative by himself alone to call, hold, prorogue, or dissolve, all parliaments, conventions, or meetings of estates, and all meetings called without his special warrant to be void and null; thirdly, that he only may make leagues and bonds among his subjects; fourthly, that he only may make peace or warr. Now they thought they were near the foundation of the league and covenant, which behooved either to be overturned, or they believed the royal power could never be established. Yet they would advance by another unnecessary step, which was to declare that convention of estates which hade contrived and sworn the league and covenant with the parliament of England, in June 1643, to be void, null, and of none effect. This was upon the matter unnecessary, for they hade done this in general in their act concerning calling of conventions, and in their act concerning making leagues and bonds; but so much did they dread to toutch the sacred name of the covenant, which hade indeed in Scotland universal respect next to the scripture, that they thought it prudence once to be sure by a trying

vote, which if they hade miscarried, they resolved to attack the fortress another way. And therefore they made one expresse act to destroy the foundation upon which the covenant was built, that so it might fall to ground; and when they found it proceeded smoothly, then their next adventure is to dissolve the obligation of the covenant, which they did in their seventh act, and it passed very easily, upon the preparations they hade made with the distinction they used. Their preparatorie acts declared the covenant to be the deed of ane usurping meeting. The distinction they used was, whatever excellency might be in the matter of the covenant, that yet it was no binding law obliedging the people of Scotland; and these two considerations so blinded the eyes of many poor people, they professed they believed they might renunce the power of the covenant as a law, and preserve it as a private oath. However it passed, according to the expectation of all. Yet some of all ranks dissented, and many withdrew, choising rather innocent silent absence than the hazard of a solemn judicial dissent, which might make the old guilt of their late rebellion altogether unpardonable by this new irritation. One ingenious man there was among them, whose ordinary vote in all these questions, preparatory and principal, was, he would doe nothing against his lawfull oath and covenant: this was George Gordon's, baillie of Burntisland, a man whom the leaders thought fitt rather to oversee than check.

But so much did they dread and hate the covenant, they thought never to be sure enough against it; and therefore, as they advanced by steps preparatory, they concluded with cutting off the dead man's head; for, after they had disrobbed it of the authority of a law in the seventh act, they next destroy the matter of it, by enervating the obligation and binding power of it in their eleventh act. Then they commanded it to be solemnly renunced (tho' it was in another session it was the same parliament) and condemned as unlawfull.

And last of all, in a following parliament, where Queensberry was commissioner, it is declared capital for any man to adhere to the covenant; so the very name of it became like the name of ane idol, not to be mentioned amongst honest people.* All these pieces of

* "Ye were all perjured in the beginning with complying with prelacy, and hearing these cursed curates, after ye had covenanted and sworn to God, and engaged yourselves in that covenanted work of reformation; and as long as ye mourn not for that sin as much as for whoredom, adulterie, murder, or stealing, the gospel will never do you good."—*Sermon preached by* ALEXANDER PEDEN, *at Glenluce.*

This was orthodox doctrine with many; and so great an impression did the breach of covenant make upon the minds of the vulgar, that the mournful idea haunted them in their last moments, even upon the scaffold. Jean Weir, sister of the noted Major, and a partaker of his foul crimes, when about to suffer death in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, "ascending up the ladder, spoke somewhat confusedly of her sins, of her brother, and of his enchanting staff; and, with a ghastly countenance, beholding a multitude of spectators, all wondering and some weeping, she spake aloud,—There are many here this day, wondering and greeting for me, but, alas! *few mourn for a broken covenant.* At which words many seemed angry; some called to her to mind higher concerns; and I have heard it said that the preacher declared, he had much ado to keep a composed countenance."—*Satan's Invisible World Discovered, by Mr* GEORGE SINCLAIR, *Professor of Philosophy in the College of Glasgow.*—The very word Covenant had a peculiar sweetness to the ears of the presbyterian sufferers, and their preachers laboured to introduce it in their sermons, as an almost universal adjective. "We shall never ken better that God is our *covenanted* God than by this, that we are brought into captivity; there is no cross nor trouble that we can go through, but a *covenanted* God is at the contriving of it, *covenanted* Mercy and *covenanted* Love is at the contriving of it and carving out of it. And think ye, that since *covenanted* Love and *covenanted* Mercy is at the carving out of it, that our ruin will be carved out in the midst of it." *Vide Prophetical Sermons preached by that faithful and glorified Martyr, Mr* JAMES RENWICK, *p.* 27.—One Mitchelson, a pretended prophetess of the Puritans, had before set the example of this absurdity. When she spoke of Christ, she usually called him the *covenanting* Jesus. This was during the infancy of the covenant, and in such reverence was she held, that Rollock, then minister of the College Church of Edinburgh, being desired to pray with her, answered "that he durst not; for it would be ill manners in him to speak, when his master, Christ, was speaking in her."—KING'S *Declaration, p.* 227.

the king's enlarged power they put together in one instrument and act called the prerogative, to be subscribed by all persons in publick trust. And now they thought they hade arrayed their king in his robe royal, having given him absolute power to choise his officers; and him alone to call parliaments and conventions, and to make peace and warres; hereby condemning all the resistance that ever hade been made to any of the antient tyrants; and more especially all that the estates of Scotland hade done in the late reformation since Duncelaw, (though formerly approven by king and parliament,) and now last of all razed the fortresse of the covenant, the king's great eye-sore; and, in effect, hade done what they could to render their king absolute and to limit their God, hereby to change both the frame and principall of the people of Scotland.

Now, after they hade compleated the modell of the king's power and prerogative, because they would make a perfect alteration in our government, and because, to be sure, they did many things twice over, therefore they proceed to approve the engadgement in warr with England in the year 1648, which was by many called unlawfull, and I think may well by all be called unhappy, foreasmuch as, instead of liberating the prisoner king, by its miscarriage it brought him to ane untimely death; and therefore, to make clean work, they rescind all parliaments since 1633, though the king hade been sometimes personally present, and all of them hade been ratified and approven by Charles the Second in full parliament at his coronation. Then for a copestone, they, in their sixteenth act, abolish presbytery and establish episcopacy, but in as dark and insensible a manner as they could;—by declaring the government of the church to be moveable, and at his majesty's pleasure to be settled by him as he in his wisdom shall think fitt; by which they overturn presbytery, and give power to his majesty, without consent of parliament, to introduce the much-desired bishops, which he did within

some few months in his secret council; and because bishops may not stand alone, they establish patrones and patronages to accompany them: mean time allowing the continuance of dyeing presbytery, which expired with that short year. But because Middletoun knew well this was the king's darling design, and the copestone of his work, therefore he would deliberate before he concluded. So, upon a convenient day, he calls into his cabinate Sir Archibald Primrose, clerk register, Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Tarbet, Sir John Urquhart of Cromartie, (who hade lately counterfeited the protester, and afterwards so lamentably died by his own hands);*

* "The fatall and cursed death of Cromarty I cannot lament, if it hath been with his own hands." *Letter from* PATRICK SMYTHE, *of Methven, to his Lady, April*, 1678, *in the possession of George Smithe, Esq.*—It is said, that Sir John Urquhart's pecuniary affairs getting into disorder, a deep melancholy seized him, which at length disordered his senses, and concluded in suicide. The day of his death, Lady Jane Urquhart, his daughter-in-law, (sister of the third Marquis of Montrose,) hearing groans in the dining-room, repaired thither, and found Sir John pacing about the chamber, with his morning gown closely drawn over his bosom; to her anxious enquiries respecting his disordered appearance, he wildly replied, "Woman, would you see?" and, throwing open his robe-de-chambre, displayed his breast stuck full of knives and forks, which had been lying on the beaufet, and covered with blood. At this horrible spectacle she fainted away, and afterwards suffered severely in her health from the shock; but as Sir John was of a temper naturally fierce and tyrannical, his family was supposed to feel but little regret at his death. It is probable that his madness was hereditary. His cousin, Sir Thomas, the author of many eccentric productions, laboured also under a derangement of intellect. His Essay on Trigonometry is mentioned by Samuel Colvill, in his Whig's Supplication (printed 1681,) as the offspring of "brains that have a bee;"—and this book Sir Thomas dedicated to his own mother, (a daughter of Lord Elphinstone,) to whom he says, "I beseech Almighty God that it may please his divine Majesty so to blesse your ladieship with continuance of dayes, that the sonnes of those whom I have not as yet begot may attaine to the happinesse of presenting unto your ladieship a brain-babe of more sufficiencie and consequence." His Translation of Rabelais, which is executed with wonderful spirit, has been greatly mutilated and injured

and the fourth counsellor was Sir John Fletcher, Middleton's ally. To them he propounds the cases, telling them he knew well bishops were the thing the king desired most, and that he believed the par-

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in the latter editions. He also wrote a Pedigree of the Urquhart Family, beginning from Adam, in which he asserts, that one of his ancestors married a daughter of Bacchus, whom he had accompanied in his conquest of the Indies; and that on his return from thence into Greece, he passed through the territories of Israel, "where being acquainted with Deborah the judge and prophetess, he received from her a very rich jewel, which afterwards, by one of his succession, was presented to Pentasilea, that queen of the Amazons that assisted the Trojans against Agamemnon." There are, indeed, many more impudent falsehoods than this in our pedigrees and books of heraldry, both old and new. Sir Thomas's work, called the Jewel, is perhaps the most wonderful of all his productions. Talking of Scotland, he says, "how covetousness, under the mask of religion, took such deep root in that land, was one way occasioned by some ministers, who, to augment their stipends, and cram their bags full of money, thought fit to possess the mindes of the people with strong opinion of their sanctity, and implicit obedience to their injunctions: to which effect, most rigidly Israelitizing it in their synagogical sanhedrims, and officiously bragging in their pulpits (even when Scotland, by divers notorious calamities of both sword, plague, and famine, was brought very lowe) that no nation (for being likest to the Jews of any other) was so glorious as it; they, with a pharisaical superciliosity, would always rebuke the non-covenanters and sectaries as publicans and sinners, unfit for the purity of their conversation, unless by the malignancie or over-mastering power of a cross winde they should be forced to call the hypocritical bunt, let fall the top-gallant of their counterfeit devotion, and tacking about, to sail a quite contrary course, (as many of them have already done) the better at last to cast anchor in the harbour of Profit, which is the butt they aimed at, and sole period of all their dissimulations."

A strange and shocking occurrence in the house of Cromarty is recorded by Spalding, which appears to regard Sir Thomas Urquhart's mother, mentioned above, as Sir Thomas himself died unmarried. "Upon Wednesday the 5th of February (1643) there came to the place of Cromarty, where the lady was, Hutcheon Ross of Auchincloch, with two other gentlemen, where they were made welcome, and supped merrily; but unluckily got a collation, which was provided for another, and were all three found dead in their beds upon the morn. Pitiful to behold!—It is said the young Laird of Calder was married to Cromarty's daughter; he thereafter became mad, and of whom

liament was in such a frame he might easily satisfie the king to the full, desireing their advyce: Sir Archibald Primrose answered first, that it was his opinion his Grace would doe well to advance the introduction of bishops strongly, but slowly; for, says he, if you advance strongly, you shall keep yourself in favour; if slowly, ye shall continue your employment; whereas, if you have soon done, you shall lose your power. The commissioner answered, he thought he would serve his majesty in a more gentile manner, and doe his business at one stroake; to which the other three counsellors assented, applauding his generosity; so it was concluded in privat, and compleated in publick. But it was observed that Middleton, and all his three counsellors, were out of all place and employment within a very few months thereafter. The establishing of episcopacy in Scotland being in all experience like the building of Jericho, in Canaan.

The last considerable act this session of parliament concluded was ane act in their own favours for paying their own debts without money; in this the noble and the rich took the advantage of the poor and the mean, both by prolonging the day of the payment of the debt, and diminishing the summe. This was not like Nehemiah's act betwixt the debitor and creditor, wherein he allowed the poor the ease, charity and generosity doe easily grant in cases of necessity. However, I am sure this favour our rulers did to themselves broke many poor families, and some sad hearts. They framed diverse civil acts concerning the affaires of the countrey, which I wholly ommitt; and some, forsooth, for the advantage of religion, such as act against blasphemy, swearing, drunkenness, and Sabbath-

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his young lady had no pleasure. Thus he being with her in the place of Cromarty, this poison was in a quart-stoup provided for him, but fell otherwise, as ye have heard; whereupon young Calder was hastily removed by his friends out of that place, and never more tried."—SPALDING'S *Hist. vol. II. p.* 70.

breaking. Also they taught the people of the land how to obey these acts by their own behaviour, which was such as seldom law-makers in the world have used toward their own infant lawes, the grossest contempt in a world.

But they confirmed their lawes with passive examples of another sort; and because they were to alter Scotland every way, they would not only change lawes and principles, but likewayes rid the land of some of the dangerous men as well as bad principles, and for their examples they indeed choised of the best. They begun with Wariston, against whom they made two several acts, the one as unnecessary as the other unjust; for, first, they declare him uncapable of employment, when he was hiding himself in strange countreys no man knew where, and hade been formerly proclaimed fugitive, which was enough of itself to render him uncapable of employment: Yet, to make all sure, they proceed to sentence of forfaulture and death, which evacuate their former acts; but he was not at that time in their hands. Their next choise was the noble Marquesse of Argyle, who was sent down by the king, partly to be a sacrifice to revenge, and partly to be a beacon for terror. He came down in a vessell with Swinton, who, of a zealous professor, first became a sensual epicure, and thereafter a blasphemous heretick; but he catcht no harm at such hands, for the queen-mother and papists brought him off.* As for Argyle,

* "*July* 20, 1660. Sir John Swinton of that ilk, one of the judges under Cromwell, and called the Lord Swinton, was taken out of his bed in a Quaker's house in King's-street, London, and sent in fetters to the Gate-house. He had been once a zealous professor of reformation, and a covenanter; but falling in with the usurper and English sectaries, he first turned lax, and of late took on the mask of Quakerism." WODROW'S *Hist. vol. I. p.* 6.—Swinton had been so active in support of the English interest in his native country, that he was attainted of high treason by the parliament held at Stirling in the year 1651, though he had fallen on the device of getting a party of Oliver's soldiers to seize him, and carry him, as if by force, into England.

it was observed the parliament were urged by reiterate messages from court to hasten his processe, which they did with all diligence. He hade been justice-general and sheriff of Argyle, and these offices obliedged sometimes to punish malefactors; and punishment, with the unjust, is frequently resented as ane injury. This occasioned complaints; these complaints were greedily entertained by the wicked of the land, who hated his activity for the work of reformation, and envyed his long prosperity after the fall of his enemies; so many ugly calumnies were spread, great matters were promised by his enemies, and expected by the countrey; and when

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This attainder, in the declining posture of the king's affairs, proved of very little consequence. After his apprehension in the year 1660, he was brought down to Edinburgh by sea, together with Lord Argyle, and had nearly perished in a storm, which destroyed the ship containing the records of Scotland. As a Quaker, and excommunicated, he was conveyed through the streets of Edinburgh to the castle, with his head uncovered, and guarded by the town-officers, while the Marquis walked with his hat on, betwixt two baillies of the city. (WODROW, p. 43.)—The change of his religious opinions was ascribed much more to convenience than conviction; and it was said, that if Swinton had not *trembled*, he never would have *quaked*. On his trial he displayed all the meekness of his sect, as it now exists, (for in those days Quakers abounded not much in patience and long-suffering,) waving strong legal arguments against the validity of his former attainder, and professing that he was, at the time such crimes were imputed to him, in *the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity*; but that God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though it should extend to his life. It is asserted that Middleton saved him from punishment, through hatred to Lauderdale, who had got a grant of Swinton's estate; yet Lauderdale, in answer to an application in his favour from the Scottish Privy Council, writes, "Though I had before begged the life of that unfortunate man Swinton from the king, yet, in obedience to you, I did again renew my sute before honest witnesses, but all in vain." PRIMROSE's *MS. Letters, Advocates' Library*.—Sir John afterwards continued in his new persuasion, and made many converts to Quakerism, of whom Barclay, the father of the celebrated Apologist, was one of the most conspicuous.

they hade accomplisht their most diligent search, they could find nothing at all against him but his necessary submission to the conquering English, after every county in Scotland, in their publick meetings, hade acknowledged the English for their lawfull superiors: and this was judged duty by all the people of Scotland. However, these accusations of his enemies were his providential vindication, for nothing could be made out, which produced him ane absolution in every honest man's conscience. I heard him say to myself, that, in that session of parliament, not so few as thirty several libells hade been formed against him, upon injuries, oppressions, murders, alleadged to have been committed by him from his youth, but all evanished as calumnies use to doe; so they were constrained to betake themselves to that innocent necessary crime of complying with the English. But as the sacrifice of old was first washed before it was offered, so he must first be found ane innocent, and then sacrificed to royal revenge. However, the only article upon which the advocate, Sir John Fletcher, insisted, was his complyance with the English; and, to aggravate his offence, two particulars were alleadged against him: first, that he had borne armes in the Highlands in conjunction with the English. To this he answered, that he being sheriff of Argyle, hade alwayes and behooved of necessity to use armes to keep the countrey in safety in a broken time; but that ever he joyned with the English in armes, that he denied, nor could they prove it. It was next objected, that he hade taken some of Glencairn's men prisoners, even when Glencairn acted as the king's general. To that he answered, that indeed his servants hade taken two suspected men wandering through the country, and brought them to him, but as soon as he heard them alleadge their relation to Glencairn, he only sent them to the next town (Dumbarton), to see if they could clear themselves indeed to be these men, with orders to dismiss them if they did it; which according-

ly, upon the testimony of their acquaintance, was done, and that was all. So his innocent complyance, in which he hade never wronged any man, was the only cause of his death. He hade once sitt in the parliament of England in the year 1659, and this he did only to protect Scotland from oppressions; and being occasionally present in town when once the Protector was proclaimed, he was (as many thousands were) a witness, and this was all his crime. But because he was so fully cleared of all his odious aspersions, and because there was so little to say against him in the matter of his publick guilt, many of the members of parliament began both to scruple and coole in their pursuite; and this was likewayes a piece of his advantage, they had endeavoured to find him some way accessory to the death of Charles the First, but herein he was most evidently vindicated, which encreased the trouble of those who were to be his judges, so that the king's great instruments begane to doubt the danger of a casting vote. Hereupon it was thought fitt to acquaint the king, so Glencairn and Rothes post to court, to give the king a true account of the state of affaires; but before they went they wheedled the whole parliament into a subscription of a letter, wherein the whole past proceedings were owned; which was one of the greatest tentations honest men in the parliament, dureing the whole session, ever underwent. But from the day of their arrival to the day of his condemnation, the parliament hade no rest from reiterated messages to dispatch that processe. Most part thought not because of the crime, but because of the man, who was as much hated for his activity in the late Reformation, and feared because of his power, abilities, and principles, as he was otherwayes innocent. So to his sentence he came from the Castle of Edinburgh, May 25, which was, that he should be beheaded at the Cross, May 27, being the next Munday; so he was remanded to the Tolbooth, with Baillie Wauchop to attend him. Great was the lamentation was made

for him, many and various were the discourses and reasonings upon and against his severe sentence. Himself was both a judicious lawyer and ane eloquent orator; and I have seen a large book, containing nothing but his own pleadings in his own case. And that helped to make it a thin house that day he was condemned, when all withdrew but only these who hade engadged to follow the course of the times: Besides, he hade many relations and allyes in the parliament, who, if they might neither dissent nor be silent, thought next best to withdraw. Others in the countrey argued he suffered unjustly, forasmuch as he did nothing but what was both necessary for self-preservation, (his single and solitary resistance could never have restored our king,) and also just in obeying the magistrate Providence hade established. Lawyers say, conquest followed with consent make a good title to every conqueror; otherwayes many a king may quite his crown; and the English were conquerors, to whose obedience all Scotland hade consented at Dalkeith, April 2, 1652, by their commissioners, in a most solemn manner. Moreover, no man in England or Ireland suffered for acknowledging Cromwell, though as he was reckoned a conqueror in Scotland, he was only counted a rebell in England; so their crime was less excuseable. Besides all this the people asked, Was his crime great; was the king so poor of justice as to punish one only man for a guilty nation? Was his crime small; was the king so scant of mercy, he might not forgive one having forgiven so many? He was condemned to die by these who were complices in the crime, and in the transgression before himself (as he had told Sir John Fletcher himself) but all would not serve; the leaders of the parliament behooved to please their king; and the king thought well to make him the grave stone of resisting princes, though it turned otherwayes about. All the time of his tedious tryals his behaviour was most composed, tho' frequently provocked and abused by the Advocate

and others. And when he received his sentence to losse his head, forfault his estate, and have his head placed on the top of the Tolbooth, (which they say was Calendar's motion,) he said no more, but that he had the honour to sett the crown upon the king's head, (as he was indeed the only man who made him king of Scotland,) and now (he said) he hastens me to a better crown than his own. When he was in prison, and when his friends saw his case was desperate, there was a way contrived by force and art to have him sett free, and a considerable number of gallant men were engaged in it; yea, it was once brought that length that he was once in a compleat disguise, and so was to be brought out of the castle, when suddenly he changed his mind; he would not flee from the cause he publicly so owned, and so threw aside his disguise, resolving to suffer the uttermost.*

Before he entered the Tolbooth after his sentence, his lady was there before him to receive him, and as soon as he saw her, (they hade now given him till Munday to live with her,) and therefore, says he, let us make for it; whereupon she fell a-weeping and he himself also; the baillie, though no great friend, could not refrain, nor any in the company; but thereafter he was most composed and most cheerful, and so he spent his time in a dyeing Christian's exercise till the Munday came. The night before his death, Mr David Dickson was his bed-fellow; and all that time betwixt his sentence and his death, tho' he was commonly called timorous, his friends hade more adoe to restrain his desires after his last hour, then to strengthen his courrage. Before he went to death he dined with

* "He kept his bed for some days; and his lady being of the same stature with himself, and coming to him in a chair, he had put on her cloaths, and was going into the chair: but he apprehended he should be discovered, and his execution hastened; and so his heart failed him."—BURNET's *Hist. vol. I. p.* 124.

his friends cheerfully, and after dinner went to secret prayer, then returned to his friends, telling them, now the Lord hade sealled his charter, and said to him, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven; and so, accompanied with divers noblemen and gentlemen, he went to the scaffold. When he came hither he spoke to the people briefly of diverse great things. He protested his innocency from treachery, double-dealling, or self-designes; he forgave his judges, but could not condemn himself; he justified the work of reformation, protested his adherence thereto and to the covenant; he reproved the abounding wickedness of the land, and professed his hope of mercy, and vindicate himself of the late king's death, which was his great reproach, and so closed. Thereafter he tooke leave of his friends in very gentle manner, distributing his tokens, and so received the stroke with very great lamentation, not only of friends but convinced enemies. His head was fixed on the top of the Tolbooth, to be a monument either of the parliament's justice or of the land's misery. He was a man of singular piety, prudence, authority, and eloquence; and tho' he hade been much both envyed and callumniated, yet his death did aboundantly vindicate him. He left his desolate family upon the Lord's providence, and the king's uncertain favour. As he was a very great support to the work of reformation, so it was buried with him in one grave for many a year.*

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* Argyle's character is one of the least dubious of his own times. His father warned King Charles the First against him, as a treacherous ungrateful youth. CLARENDON'S *History*.—His cruelties during the Rebellion were notorious; while his signal hypocrisy at length ceased even to deceive the lower ranks of the puritans, by whom (as by almost all the world) he was cordially hated. BAILLIE'S *Letters*.—He was also a coward, as his conduct at Inverlochie, and on two other occasions of a like nature, proved. Bishop Guthrie tells us, that "Argyle and Earl Crawford must needs fight a duel at five of the clock morning, at the Links of Stoney-hill, Major Innes, Ar-

In this session the parliament hade made ane act, that the 29th day of May should be a solemn holy day, both because it was the birth-

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gyle's second, and Lanerick, Crawford's. They were an hour at the place, and might have fought, for none came to disturb them." Though no blood was shed, the kirk made the marquis perform public penance, "because he had such a hostile mind; and this combat," adds the bishop, "furnished us with sport for a time." *See also* BAILLIE, (*vol. II. p.* 284,) who observes, "that Argyle's enemies had of a long time burdened him, among many slanders, with that of cowardice and cullionry." In private life, if we are to believe Clement Walker, (*Appendix to the History of Independency,*) he was as false and selfish as in public, depriving his brother of his estate, and cheating his sisters out of their portions. To complete the picture, tradition describes Argyle as of mean stature, red-haired, and with squinting eyes, so that to this day he is denominated the *glied* marquis. It is singular that Kirkton does not mention the fatal letters sent down to Scotland by Monk during Argyle's trial, though the production of such a proof of disloyalty seems scarcely necessary in this case, and probably has had greater stress laid upon it by some authors than it really deserves. The marquis's head must have been devoted *ab initio*. His articles of agreement with the English parliament of the Commonwealth are subjoined from the original MS., in the possession of the editor.

Articles of Agreement betweene Archibald Lord Marquess of Argile, on the behalfe of himselfe and Friends, on the one part; and Major-Generall Richard Deane, on the behalfe of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, on the other part.

1. It is agreed, and the said lord marquess doth hereby obleige himselfe, that his lordshipp shall neither directly nor indirectly act or contrive any thing to the prejudice of the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, their forces, or authority exercised in Scotland, but shall live peaceably and quietly under the said government, and shall use the utmost of his endeavours that his children and family shall doe the same; and if any walke otherwise, his lordshipp upon cognizance thereof shall forthwith make it knowne to the chiefe officer of the next garrison, or the commander-in-chiefe in Scotland; it being alwaies intended that this shall not hinder his lordshipp's good endeavours for the establishing religion according to his conscience, provided it

day of the king, and also the day of his restauration. This was a great offence to all the children of the church of Scotland, who used

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be not by acting or contriveing any way of hostility or force in the least manner against the aforesaid authority.

2. It is agreed, and the Lord Marquess of Argile doth heerby obleige himselfe, that hee shall use the utmost of his endeavours that the inhabitants of the shire of Argile, and all others either vassalls or tenants, that hold land of, or have dependance upon his lordshipp, shall deport themselves conforme to what his lordshipp is engaged for himselfe, in the preceding article.

3. It is agreed, and the Marquess of Argile doth heerby obliege himselfe, that either his lordshipp or his eldest sonne, the Lord of Lorne (whither of them the parliament shall thinke fitt) shall upon notice given to his lordshipp repaire into England to such convenient place as the parliament and councell of state shall appoint, and not remove from thence without leave; provided they bee not confined to less then twenty miles compass, and may have leave to waite on the parliament and councell of state, as their occasion shall require.

4. And in consideration of the premises, Major Generall Deane doth heerby obliege himselfe, in the name of the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, that the said Lord Marquess of Argile shall enjoy his liberty, estate, lands, and debts, and whatever duely belongs unto him, free from all sequestration or molestation from the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, or any by authority from them; provided alwaies, that this shall not extend to the freeing of the said Lord Marquess or his estate from paying a cess, or other publique burthens proportionably with other the good people under the parliament's protection; nor any of his houses from garrisoning if there shall be need, except Inverary and Carrick, which shall not be garrisoned but upon extraordinary necessity.

In confirmation whereof wee have severally and interchangeably oblieged ourselves as abovesaid: Witnes our hands and seales this nineteenth day of August, one thousand six hundred fifty and two.

Memorandum. Before signeing and sealing of this it is agreed, that after notice given, there shal bee a monthe's time, at least, allowed for the Lord Marquess of Argile, or his sonne, the Lord of Lorne, to prepare themselves for their journey into England.

RI. DEANE.
AARGYLL.

to be very zealous for the observation of the Lord's Sabbath, but very much also for the preservation of Christian liberty for all other dayes, nor could they apprehend the obligation upon the nation, either upon the account of the king's birth or restauration, to be so

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Thursday, 13th of March, 1655.—At the councell at Whitehall. The Lord Lambert reporte the articles of agreement between Archibald Lord Marquiss of Arguile, on the behalfe of himselfe and friends, on the one part; and Major-Generall Richard Deane, on the behalf of the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, on the other part, the 19th of August, 1652. Ordered, by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Counsell, that the said articles of agreement be confirmed and ratified.

HEN. SCOBELL, Clerke of the Councell.

On the scaffold Argyle inveighed severely against the debaucheries of the time, and observed, "that religion must not be made the *cock-boat*, but the *ship*," extolling the solemn league and covenant, which he called the cause and work of God. WODROW's *Hist. vol. I. p.* 56.—Archbishop Sharp, in a letter to Sir Archibald Primrose, observes "Argyle hath done his family more wrong by his speech upon the scaffold, than he hath done them right by his letter to the king, dated the 27th of May, which letter I read upon Saturday last."—WODROW *MSS.*

"Argyle," says Professor Baillie, in a letter to Mr Spang, "long to me was the best and most excellent man our state of a long time had enjoyed; but his complyance with the English and remonstrants took my heart off him these eight years; yet I mourned for his death, and still pray to God for his family. His two sons are good youths, and were ever loyal. The ruin of the family may prove hurtful to the king and kingdom. Without the king's favour, debt will undo it. When Huntly's lands are rendered, and Montrose paid near 100,000 pound, his old debts of 400,000 or 500,000 merks will not be got paid. Many wonder of his debt, and think he must have money, for he got much, and was always sober and sparing. My good son, Mr Robert Watson, was with his lady in Rosmeath the night the king landed in England. He told me all the dogs that day did take a strange howling and staring up to my lady's chamber windows for some hours together. Mr Alexander Colvill, justice-depute, an old servant of the house, told me that my Lady Kenmure, a gracious lady, my lord's sister, from some little skill of physiognomy which Mr Alexander had taught her, had told him some years ago that her brother would die in blood."

great as to bind those that refused to keep Christmas for Christ's birth-day, or Pasch for his resurrection day, to doe that for Charles they scrupled to doe for their Saviour. And even by these who pretended to honour it, it was not kept to the Lord; but rather because of the riot, madness, swearing, solemn drunkenness, it seemed to be appointed for the service of the devil; and as it was the most prophane day in the year, so it seldom past without the attendance of some sad accident or other. However, it was the occasion of many ane honest man's suffering. And now when it was first observed, it hade the Marquesse of Argyle's death for a preface, and Mr James Guthrie's death for a conclusion, within three dayes of it.*

* "Another wicked act was framed at the same time by that same perfidious parliament, for an anniversary thanksgiving commemorating every 29 of May, that blasphemy against the spirit and work of God, and celebrating that unhappy restauration of the rescinder of the Reformation; which had not only the concurrence of the universality of the nation, but (alas! for shame that it should be told in Gath, &c.) even of some ministers who afterwards accepted the Indulgence, (one of which, a pillar among them, was seen scandalously dancing about the bonefires,) and others, who should have alarmed the whole nation, *quasi pro aris et focis*, to rise for religion and liberty to resist such wickedness, did wink at it. O how righteous is the Lord now in turning our harps into mourning! though, alas! we will not suffer ourselves to this day to see the shining righteousness of this retribution: and though we be scourged with scorpions, and brayed in a mortar, our madness, our folly in these irreligious frolicks is not yet acknowledged, let be lamented. Yet albeit, neither in this day, when the covenant was not only broken, but cassed and declared of no obligation, nor afterward when it was burnt, (for which Turks and Pagans would have been ashamed and afraid at such a terrible sight, and for which the Lord's anger is burning against these bold burners, and against them who suffered it, and did not witness against it,) was there any publick testimony by protestation or remonstrance, or any publick witness; though the Lord had come then, and some who came out afterward with the trumpet at their mouth, whose heart then sorrowed at the sight: and some suffered for the sense they showed of that anniversary abomination, for not keeping which they lost both church and liberty."—*The Testimony of the sixth Period, in the Hind let loose, by the Rev.* ALEXANDER SHIELDS.

So the next man brought to the scaffold was Mr James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, who hade still been prisoner since the last preceding August. He was the son of the Laird of Guthrie, and so a gentleman; when he was a regent in St Andrews, he was very episcopal, and was with difficulty perswaded to take the covenant. There goes a story, that when first he yielded to joyn with the covenanters in Mr Samuel Rutherford's chamber, as he came out at his door he mett the executioner in the way, which troubled him; and the next visit he made thither he mett him in the same manner again, which made him apprehend he might be a sufferer for the covenant, as indeed he was. He hade also a warning of his approaching sufferings three years before the king's return, and upon these he frequently reflected. He was a man of great piety, learning, judgement, and eloquence, but was pitched upon for a sacrifice and example amongst the ministers, partly because he was a great leader amongst the protesters,* and a great unfriend to malignants and scandalous ministers; partly because he was desperatly hated by Middleton, whom he hade formerly excommunicated. As for the pretended cause of his suffering, it was only his accession to the book called The Causes of God's Wrath against Scotland, together with his declining the king's authority in causes ecclesiastick, and his accession to the designed imperfect petition, on August 23d, 1660. However, for these he was condemned to be hanged at Edinburgh Cross in June 1st,

* Guthrie was a violent protestor; "for which, and his faithfulness, he was one of those three who were deposed by the pretended Assembly at St Andrews, 1657: Yea, such was the malice of these woful resolutioners, that upon his refusal of one of the party, and accession to the call of Mr Rule to be his colleague at Stirling, upon the death of Mr Bennet in 1656, they proceeded to stone *this seer in Israel with stones*, his testimony while alive so tormented the men who dwell upon the earth."—*Scots Worthies.*

1661, to have his head affixed on the Netherbow, his estate confiscate, and his armes torn; this was accordingly execute on the day appointed.

In one of his speeches immediatly after the first reading of his indytement, Feb. 20, 1661, (as he was a most excellent orator) after he has at length made the useless defence of his opposition to the English, he answers all the articles of his indytement, especially his declining the king's authority in matters ecclesiastick, proving both by King James his declaration, written with his own hand, and sent to the commissioners of the kirk at Lithgow, Dec. 7th, 1585, wherein the king expressly disowns all ecclesiastick authority; but all his defences was to no purpose, for he was designed for a sacrifice.* All the time betwixt his sentence and his death, he carried himself altogether as unconcerned; and when he came to the scaffold he shewed the same constancy of mind which he hade shewed through the whole course of his life. He spoke to the people, but was interrupted, therefore he delivered his mind in a paper, wherein, first, he protested his own innocency; then he owned the work of reformation in all the steps of it; thereafter he testified against the defection of the land; and last of all, encouraged the Lord's people to constancy, assureing them the Lord should once more appear in this land to their joy. But because both his speeches are yet extant, I shall say no more. After that he rendered his spirit unto the Lord

* Burnet says, that Guthrie's defence "signified nothing to justify himself, but laid a great load on presbytery; since he made it out beyond all dispute that he had acted upon their principles, which made them the more odious, as having among them some of the worst maxims of the church of Rome; that in particular, to make a pulpit a privileged place, in which a man might safely vent treason, and be secure in doing it, if the church judicatory should agree to acquit him. So upon this occasion great advantage was taken, to shew how near the spirit that reigned in presbytery came up to popery."

most patiently, and hade his head sett upon the Netherbow.* There suffered with him one William Gowan, for which they say the commissioner hade no order from court; ane action so insignificant, I never yet heard a man alleadge a reason for it. Some conjectured it was to cloud eminent examples with obscure attendants, and that was all. Mr Patrick Gillespie was under processe of treason at the same time, but because he hade many friends in the time of the English, (which was Middleton's appology to the king when he was challenged for spareing him,) and because he used some expressions which were by the parliament interpreted as ane acknowledgement of error, he was not condemned to die.†

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* "It was very confidently asserted at this time, that some weeks after Mr Guthrie's head had been set up on the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh, the commissioner's coach coming down that way, several drops of blood fell from the head upon the coach, which all their art and diligence could not wipe off. I have it very confidently affirmed, that physicians were called, and enquired if any natural cause could be assigned for the blood's dropping so long after the head was put up, and especially for its not wearing out of the leather, and they could give none. This odd incident beginning to be talked of, and all other methods being tried, at length the leather was removed, and a new cover put on; this was much sooner done than the wiping off the guilt of this great and good man's blood from the shedders of it, and this poor nation."—WODROW's *History, vol. I. p.* 70.

† Gillespie had made great efforts for a pardon, and offered to promote episcopacy in Scotland. This is proved by a letter of Sharp to Mr Robert Douglas, from which Wodrow, who quotes it in his preface, was careful not to make the following extract: "I had it from a sure hand, that the other week Gillespie's wife came to the Lord Sinclair, and having wept, and told him that the stream against her husband she saw to be so great as he would be ruined, desired if she might use freedom with his lordship. When he had bid her speak what was in her heart, she shew'd him a letter from Mr Patrick to her, bearing that she might deal with the Lord Sinclair, that he would move the king in his behalf, and know what length his majesty would have him to go as to the bringing in episcopacy into Scotland, and give all assurance that he would do the king service to his utmost, and nothing should be enjoyned him for promoting thereof which he would not most faithfully and vigorously obey and perfect. This

The parliament thought fitt to joyn other sufferers to these who suffered to the death, and their punishment was banishment. The first I shall mention was Mr Robert M'Ward, minister at Glasgow, a godly man, and of great gifts; his accusation was, that when he saw the tendency of the parliament's actings, one day in the pulpit most solemnly he dissented from all acts of parliament made to the prejudice of the covenanted work of reformation in Scotland, and protested himself free of the guilt thereof, takeing the Lord's people witnesses thereto, exhorting them to mourn for the present defection. Upon this he was brought before the parliament, where he both avowed and justified all he hade said, which occasioned a tedious processe, in which he hade occasion to shew both his judgement and his parts, expecting all along no other end to his processe, but the sentence of death, for which he was most resolute. But it pleased the Lord his sentence was only banishment from the king's dominions, (which was more than their power could reach;) to which he gave obedience, and travelling to Holland, after many years exile he died at Rotterdam, where he was employed awhile as minister, though he was even banished thence by the king's insatiable hatred, and died therein in a lurking place. The next I shall remember was Mr James Simpson, minister at Airth; he was necessitate to leave his paroch upon the king's return, because he hade been deposed by the contraverted Generall Assembly at Dundee, in the year 1651; and having occasion to travel into Ireland, was officiously without order seased prisoner at Portpatrick, and kept prisoner in Edinburgh jayle all the time of the parliament, till toward the end he was accused by the advocate, and hade his lybell delivered to him to answer, but

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Sinclair hath undertaken to move, (as seeing no other way for securing of Patrick,) and was prompted to it by the person to whom he communicated it, who yet resolves to break the design upon that account another way; for I find our noblemen have no will of Gillespie's coming into play, knowing his domineering humour."

without ever calling or waiting for his answer, condemned him to banishment, as Mr M'Ward was; so he was sentenced unheard, ane example of the parliament's justice, and orderly method, so their acts were sealled both with blood and tears.*

Lastly, when this session hade finished their work, overturned the foundation of Scotland's old freedom, and the work of reformation both first and last, and after they hade laid a new foundation upon which they designed to build, and that was the king's pleasure, they thought good to adjourn their next meeting till the 12th of March, which was afterward prorogate to the 8th of May, 1662. I cannot pass the personal behaviour of the authors of these acts, and, I assure you, as was their publick conduct, such was their private conversation. The excellencie of a history is naked truth, and whosoever will read the ancient historians, either sacred or civil, when they give you the character or story of a wicked man, will find a very great difference betwixt their strain and the stile of our late historians, who to carry credit, use to mince the matter by suppressing

* Simpson's life was probably saved through Sharp's intercession with the king, which Wodrow knew, but suppresses in his history. Sharp writes thus to Sir Archibald Primrose, lord register: "That your parliamentary acts of justice have been tempered with mercy, I think should not be displeasing, especially since the object of that mercy hath made a confession which I wish may have as binding an influence for converting of those of his way, as his former actings had upon perverting them. I did, at my first access to the king, beg that the lives of Mr Gillespie and Mr Guthrie might be spared, which his majesty denied me; but now the recommendation of the parliament, upon a ground which I could not bring, I hope will prevail with so gracious a prince, more mercifull than the kings of Israel. Upon an earnest letter from Mr James Simpson to me, to whom I did owe no great kindness, I begged of the king that he might not be proceeded against for his life and corporal punishment, which his majesty was pleased graciously to grant to me by a letter for that purpose directed to my Lord Commissioner. When your Lordship shall hear my inducements, I hope you will not condemn me."—WODROW *MSS.*

the greater part of the truth, that the little thing they say may seem the more probable, though the truth ought alwayes to be told; and as providence uses to provide witnesses, so likewayes it uses to recommend discovered truth. But for the behaviour of our parliament men, it was most lamentable. Many of the ancient covenanter lords, as they were dissenters in parliament, so they followed the old rules of behaviour, such as Loudon, Cassills, Sutherland, Crawford, Lothian, Borthwick, and Torfiken, or it may be others; but for the body of the young men, the spirit of the time acted in them as leaders and examples. Scotland hade been more sober and grave from Duncelaw till the king's return, and most quiet some years preceding that date, so that the vintiners complained they were broke for want of customers. But then, indeed, the fashion changed. Our three commissioners, Middleton, Rothes, and Lauderdale, gave every one of them the parliament they governed a denomination (in the observation of the vulgar) from their own behaviour; and this parliament was called the drinking parliament. The commissioner hade £50 English a-day allowed him, which he spent faithfully amongst his northern pantalons; and so great was the luxury, and so small was the care of his family, that when he filled his wine-cellars, his steward thought nothing to cast out full pipes to make way for others. Himself was sometimes so disordered, that when he hade appeared upon the throne in full parliament, the president, upon the whisper of the principal members, would be necessitate to adjourn. Then they made the church their stews; then you might have found chambers filled with naked men and naked women; and many, who lived under sober report formerly, turned harlots and drunkards; you may believe cursing, swearing, and blasphemy, were as common as prayer and worship was rare. Debauching was loyalty, gravity smelled of rebellion; every man that hade eyes perceived what spirit ruled among them; and among all the families in

town, none gave greater scandal then Fletcher the advocate, where the vaste sums extorted from the innocent presbyterians in danger of criminal pursuit, were turned into crying scandals, unparalelled in the history of Scotland. One Sabbath-day, when his lady was lying in child-bed, he and his gossips hade a debauch; I think it better to cover with a cloud then expose it, to the abhorrency and curse should fall upon it, were it exposed to the view of the world.*

* The following curious passage is extracted from "The Church's Comfort, or a Sermon on John, xvi. 22. preached in the Old Church of Edinburgh upon the 29th December, 1661, by Mr William Thomson.—Edin. printed in the year 1706."

"The third evidence that we shall name, that may give us a sad evidence of fear that Christ may go away, is the toleration of ungodliness and all kinds of wickedness in the land; and we need go no farther now than this same city, the mother city of the nation, which sendeth out a dark smoak and cloud of prophanity throughout all the land; these abominations take up their beginning in her, and overspreads and defiles the whole land. Our hearts have been like to bleed some nights, when we have been sitting in some lodging houses upon the way side, as the Lord called us to be in our way in some parts of the land, where we heard great number of travellers at night where they lodged, as they were returned from Edinburgh, singing over the most profane and ungodly songs that could be devised, tending only to the stirring up of corruption in all unregenerat and unmortified hearts who hear the same; and one of them saying to another, 'this is the most common and chief song that is now in fashion in Edinburgh; there is no such song as this, for it is singing up and down the streets;' this is a known truth that it is so. Would not the hearing of such abominable things make Christians ears abhor the same, or a sanctified mind to record the same in memory? if necessity did not require for reproving such unfruitful works of darkness. Ye know that this is no secret, for have not most of your own ears heard these prophane songs in the streets nightly and dayly, which is yet tolerated unto this day, and never curbed nor punished by these that are in authority, which speaks out much indifferency, and want of zeal for our dear Lord Jesus Christ. And is it not sad to see our mother city, where once righteousness dwelt, become now such a mother of prophanity and ungodliness? and may not all this give us too much ground to fear that our dear Lord Jesus Christ is like to go away and leave us? And besides this, there is many other dreadful abominations committed by night and by day, which would make

One may ask what was become of all the active zeal which hade wrought so high among the ministers and people of Scotland, when all this was done? I answer, it was a time of sad defection, and (as

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Christian ears abhor to hear or tongues to relate. O! but this is not all; will ye but hear a little, we will tell you yet of a greater abomination than this, tho' little minded or laid to heart by many, and that is turning over this Holy Bible to stage plays: is not this horrid blasphemy? Yet this is not done in a corner only, they openly avow the same; for will ye but stand at the closs heads, they proclaim their wickedness, when they call on passengers, saying, "Walk in, gentlemen, and ye shall see a new piece of work; ye shall there see Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, walking in a lively manner, to see how they were created naked, and then deceived by the serpent." Oh! oh! was it not this that began all our misery? and was it not this that was the ground of all our misery, sorrow, and lamentation? and shall this be turned over to a stage play, and a sport to make people laugh, and make merry? O! that some would cause plead for this, that order might be taken with such abuses. These things we could not but mention, they being so abominable in the sight of God; and might not this say, that he can have but little heart to stay among us, seeing that we have little esteem of his holy and blessed word?

"The fourth sad evidence of Christ's departure which we shall name, is the corruption of God's worship and order of his house in a violent way, the setting up of vain self-seeking perjured men over the inheritance of the Lord, who also renounced the ministry as not of God; and if such men be fit for ruling the house of God, let the Bible and people of God be judge in this matter: this manner and way was never blessed of God in our land formerly, as to the conversion of souls, and much less it is now to be expected that he will bless the same. O! how unbecoming a title would Paul have thought it, if any would have come unto him, and called him your Lordship, or your Lordship's Grace. O! how abominable would he have thought himself, if he had seen a prelate's mitre upon his head, and their side robes upon him, with some bearing up their tails: there is no ground from the Bible for this, and yet it is done. (He did see some laughing, and others affrighted, which made him to speak thus): Let this neither be looked upon as a matter of laughter to strangers, or affrighting to friends, seeing necessity constrains us to speak of these things unto you. Now may not this give us sad ground of fear that the Lord will go away and leave us, seeing such abominations are set up among us?"

usually it useth to be) attended with a strong tentation. The Lord was upon the way of deserting the land, men were filled with fear and deafened with threatenings, they were also discouraged with intestine divisions: The publick resolution men, resolving to make their separation from, and zeal against the protesters, their defence against the king's displeasure; men saw publick acting would be but unprofitable to the church, and destruction to themselves; all that could be projected was only to testifie against what they could not help, and upon this they could not agree, so certainly too little was done among them all. Yet something was done; in many of the pulpits of the land, the ministers preached freely, warning the people both of the sins and dangers of the times; and where the minister hade no enemy among his people, he escaped at hazard from publick persecution, but not so in every place; as, besides those I mentioned, some proclaimed congregational fasts, as Mr Adam Key, and there he used great freedom. Some were as full and free in their doctrine as any man in Scotland hade ever been, as Mr William Guthrie, which, together with the excellency of his gifts, did so recommend him to the affections of the countrey people about him, that they turned the corn-field of his glieb into a town, every one building a house for his family upon it; only that they might live under the drop of his ordinances and ministry. Yet, notwithstanding his bold plainness, he was for a long time protected by Glencairn, upon the earnest dyeing request of his father-in-law, the Earle of Eglintoun. Judicatories also endeavoured something. The presbytery of Edinburgh, when they heard the parliament was about to overturn all by their act rescissory, drew a petition to the parliament, wherein they required, that since our religion and church government were to be despoiled of the protection of the old laws, they would be pleased to confirm them by new laws for that effect. This petition they sent to the commissioner by the hands of Mr

John Smith, Mr Robert Lawrie, and Mr Peter Blair. The commissioner perswaded them that day, partly by promises, partly by threatnings, to forbear for that time; and then that same afternoon passed the rescissory act. To-morrow the presbytery mett, and delegated others of their number, among whom was Mr David Dickson, to carry the same message to the commissioner, who when they came were very harshly received. Middleton told Mr Dickson he was mistaken if he thought to terrifie him with papers, he was no coward; Mr Dickson replyed, they knew well he was no coward, ever since the bridge of Dee, (this was a skirmish on June 19, 1638, wherein Middleton appeared very gallant for the covenant against the king,) to this Middleton made no answer; so Mr Dickson, knowing he hade diverse well-wishers in the parliament, (for there hade been 42 dissents from the act recissory) insisted much to have the petition read in publick, and after long debate, thought fitt to put Middleton in mind of the exercise he hade been under at St Andrews in the year 1645, when he was in hazard of death by ane iliack passion, to which he answered in disdain, What! did he tell him of a fitt of a fever? and this was all the fruit of their diligence. Thereafter they sent their petition to the king, but with the same success. And because now every thinking man began to perceive the danger, and to believe the house would be riffled, because the keyes were changed, and that our religion would be overturned, because the church government was destroyed; therefore divers more up and down the countrey made some essay towards a testimony. The presbytery of Couper in Fife, upon the 18 of Aprile, 1661, in a solemn deliberat manner declare their adherence to the doctrine and government of the Church of Scotland according to the covenant, and this they recorded in their presbyterie's book. Also the synod of Fife, at the same time, contrived and concluded a solemn warning to all the people under their

charge, wherein, after a very prolix protestation of their loyalty to their king, and abhorrence of the late English usurpation, and founding their resolution in part upon the late gracious letter his majesty hade written to the presbytery of Edinburgh, dated Sept. 3d, 1660, (for they were mostly publick resolution men, and so mistook the king's words,) they proceeded to declare against prelacy, and protest their adherence to the doctrine, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland; and, lastly, they admonish their people to be constant in the Lord's way, and exhort them to the exercise of repentance; but before this was finished, the synod was peremptorily dissolved by the Earle of Rothes, appointed commissioner and inspector by the parliament to watch over the proceedings of that synod. The synod of Dumfries agreed upon a declaration, wherein they professed their adherence to the doctrine and government of the church of Scotland according to the covenant; but before they could see the light, the synod was dissolved by Queensberry and Hartfield, and both lamentably drunk, as the report went. In the synod of Glasgow, they designed a supplication to the parliament for the preservation of the doctrine and government of the church; but before they could finish it, they were dissolved in the king's name by the parliament's commissioner, the Earle of Galloway, (for they hade a commissioner in every suspected synod almost); yet after they were discharged, they refused to dissolve till first the moderator, Mr John Park, with all the brethren, hade protested against the injury done to their judicatory by the encroachment of the civil magistrate, and thereupon took instruments in the clerk's hand, and then, after solemn prayer, dissolved at leisure. In the synod of Lothian, their commissioner, the Earle of Calendar, urged them only to depose the protesters, wherein he found them very ready; but as soon as ever they began to talk of the state of the church, they were commanded to the door

in the king's name. The synod of Glasgow, at their first meeting, April 2d, resolved once to have petitioned the parliament for a new establishment of our religion, the old being removed, but herein the plurality were opposed by the brethren for the publick resolutions, and chiefly Mr James Ferguson, with whom joyned Mr Robert Birnie and Mr James Hamilton, minister at Camnethan; they did not so much oppose the thing itself, as the season of it in these circumstances, desireing only the synod might adjourn some dayes, that if in the mean time other synods designed petitioning, they might with advantage joyn in ane unite course. Meantime they were content to record a declaration in their book, wherein they unanimously profess, that forasmuch as their is a fear that some ministers in this church inclyne to make defection from the government of the church, therefore they unanimously declare their resolution, by the grace of God, to remain constant in the doctrine, discipline, and government of the church, in opposition to prelatical episcopacy. This pitifull declaration satisfied not the zealous people either in the synod or in the countrey, and therefore they called it the miscarrieing womb. First, they were displeased at the distinction of episcopacy insinuate in it, as if, by renuncing prelatical episcopacy, they had tacitely allowed a modest presbyterian episcopacy. Next, when it was urged that a clause concerning the obligation of the covenant, the seal of our religion, might be insert, it was violently opposed, Mr Hamilton protesting, that if it were mentioned he would not concurr; so desire of unity made it pass: yet one would have thought that they all said enough to keep them from being bishops at lest for one year, but Mr Hamilton turned bishop within eight months; such constant men our bishops were.

The synod, upon hopes of acting unanimously, hade adjourned till the second Tuesday of May; but before that day came, Middleton hade, by a solemn proclamation at the Mercat Cross, discharged them

Yet when the day came, they mett in Mr Ralph Rodger's house, and there a good many of them (for their meeting was not full) resolved to send their testimony to the commissioner Middleton, declareing their forbearing to constitute themselves in a synod did not proceed from any scruple concerning their intrinsick power, and that they hoped they should no more be hindered to meet at their ordinary diets. This they sent to the commissioner by Mr Patrick Colvill, their last moderator, without any return, and this was the last synod in that place. Only in all Scotland the synod of Aberdeen agreed to supplicate the parliament for the re-establishment of episcopacy, and this supplication all members present did subscribe, to the great satisfaction of the court party.

During this session of parliament Mr Samuel Rutherford departed this life: But tho' he died in his bed, and at peace with the Lord, he might not die at the king's peace; for after the state had burnt the book, called Lex Rex, both at the Crosse of Edinburgh, and the gate of the New Colledge of St Andrews, the parliament was pleased to cite him before them to answer ane accusation of high-treason; but, even at that time, the Lord called him to ane higher tribunal, where it's hoped he found more favour. He died much lamenting that he was withholden from giving his testimony against the course of the times, and otherwayes full of joy and hope. His acquaintance doubted whether his sublime scholastick invention in dispute and controversy, or his sweet popular familiar strain in his sermons, was the more admirable: but his works speak both the one and the other after his death.* Att this time also our parlia-

* As a specimen of Rutherford's *sublime scholastic invention in dispute and controversy*, the following passage is extracted from "A *peaceable* and *temperate* Plea for Paul's Presbyterie in Scotland, or a *modest* and *brotherly* Dispute of the Government of the Church of Scotland," &c. 1642. "The essential ingredients and reasons of a lawfull

ment thought fitt to honour Montrose his carcase with a glorious second burial, to compense the dishonour of the first; and with him one Hay of Delgatty, (a flagitious papist) who was one of his colonells, and would be buried with him. Montrose his History is write in good Latine, (supposed to be by Bishop Wishart) but with as little truth as most in the world. However, the parliament would needs own all he hade done, and so take the innocent blood he hade

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divorce (of the churches) are here. 1. We could not lye in one bed with that sometime sister church of Rome, but our skin behoved to rub upon her botch-boyle, and therefore we did separate from nothing but corruption. 2. There was there persecutions, and in that we are patients, rather then departers on foot and horse. 3. A professed dominion over our consciences. 4. Necessity of receiving the marks of the beast, to worship images, and the works of men's hands, a necessity of professing fundamental errors, that subvert the foundation of faith, did all necessitate our separation." p. 123.—" Howbeit, I say Rome is a church teaching and professing, and hath something of the life and being of a true church, yet I hold not that Rome is Christ's body, nor his wife. Neither meane I with our late novators, prelates and their faction sometimes in this land, and now in England, that Rome is a true church, as they taught, that is, so true a church, as, 1. We erred in separating from that leaper w—e. 2. That her errours are not fundamentall, and that we and this mother can be reconciled, and bedde together," &c. p. 131.—As to Rutherford's *sweet popular familiar strain* in his sermons, it cannot now be enlarged upon with propriety. One specimen shall suffice, taken from *Christ's Napkin, or a Sermon preached in Kirkcudbright at the Communion, May* 12, 1633, *by that flower of the Church, famous, famous Mr* SAMUEL RUTHERFORD. " David, Psalms 6, when he thought God strake him in his wrath, was at ' how long, Lord ?'—a cutted word !—I think that he looked like a poor hungry beast, looking over the dyke, that would fain have had a mouthful; he was even going to seek a slapp, to break over the dyke of his doubtings, &c. Now here is a price set, and an offer made, to him that overcometh, to him that will mount up by Faith and Hope, and leap up in Christ's chariot, and betide him life, betide him death, he will go throw : but they are cowards that take a side gate, and lets the devil coup them in a gutter."—For more of this stuff see also *Christ and the Dove's Heavenly Salutations, with their pleasant Conference together, or a Sermon preached before the Communion in Anwoth, by that flower of the Church, Mr* SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, 4*to*.

shed upon their own heads. This man, after he hade most cruelly destroyed his own nation, employing for his souldiers the barbarous Irish papists, who hade cruelly murdered two hundered thousand innocent protestants some years before (some poor women in Scotland knew and noticed these very same men who hade murthered their husbands and children before their eyes in Ireland, and saw them receive the just reward of their cruelties when they were taken prisoners at Philiphaugh, where Montrose was defeat,) and after he hade left the countrey for a time, returning to make a new warre even in the instant when the king was agreeing with the states of Scotland, was at last defeat by Colonel Strachan, and taken prisoner by M'Laud of Assin, who sent him to Edinburgh to the parliament then sitting. That parliament condemned him to a lamentable death, and after his death fixed his head upon the top of the Tolbooth, burying his body ignominiously in the Borrowmoore, under the gibbet.* Now this parliament resolved to repair his ho-

* Montrose, after his last defeat, suffered such extremity of hunger while wandering among the hills, that he was compelled to devour his gloves, (*Commons War of England*, *p.* 100.) He was betrayed by MacLeod of Assint to General Lesly for four hundred bolls of meal, (MACLEOD'S *Indictment*, *Criminal Records*, 1674,) and brought into Edinburgh in the most ignominious manner, having many wounds upon him, *which*, according to the Diurnal, *might have been cured*. The covenanted clergy laboured to invent new torments both bodily and spiritual for this signal malignant, who had eaten a live toad in his infancy, (*Staggering State*,) and afterwards shed so much venom on the followers of the good cause. He was guarded in prison by Major Weir, afterwards burnt for sorcery and many abominable crimes, who reviled him with despiteful language, in which he possessed a wonderful fluency, and continually smoked tobacco, which Montrose was known to abhor, (*Ravaillac Redivivus.*) "At his trial, he came into the house apparrelled in a very rich suit, thick overlaid with costly lace, and over it a scarlet rocket, and on his head a beaver hat with a very rich hat-band upon it, with carnation silk stockings, garters, and roses, with other habiliments suitable; all which he had caused to be made for him immediately upon his coming to Edinburgh, as if he

nour; so he was first unburied, and then again buried in the High Church of Edinburgh, with all pomp and honour, the king's commission, by virtue of which he hade done so much mischief, being carried before him to his grave. There was a scaffold raised for taking down his head with safety, and no small reverence was given

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had been going rather about some festival than tragical affair." *Account of the Condemnation and Execution of the Marquis of Montrose.*—The following letter, written by Montrose's deadly foe, Argyle, on the day of his rival's barbarous murder, is printed from the original in the possession of the Marquis of Lothian. It is extremely characteristick, and seems calculated to inspire Charles the Second with suspicions of Montrose's fidelity. The address is to Lord Lothian, Argyle's nephew, and subsequently his son-in-law.

" My nobil Lord,

" I am much in your lordship's debt, for I had many long letters from your lordship without returne, and yet I hope your lordship will censure me favourablie if I mak not amends at this tym, for wee faill not in our ordinar way of long sitting, and it being now leat, I confes I am wearie, for all last night my wyf was crying, who, blessed be God, is saiflie brocht to bed of a dochter, whois birth day is remarkable in the tragick end of James Grahame at this cros. He was warned to be spairing in speaking to the king's disadvantage, or els he had donne it; for befor the parliament, in his own justification, he said he had severall commissions from the king for all he did, yea, he had particular orders; and that leatle for cuming to the main land of Scotland. He got sum resolution after he cam her how to go out of this world, but nothing at all how to enter into ane other, not so muche as once humbling himself to pray at all on the scaffold, nor saying any thing on it that he had not repeated many tyms before when the ministers were with him. For what may concern the publick, I leave it to the publick papers and Mr James Darrimpl's relation; I houpe Mr Gillespie will satisfie you of any prejudice can be conceived against particular men's cariag; thair was muche splen agains Mr James, and it went hard to get him returned to you; the fear was, leist he should give hard impressions of sum men's cariag, howsoever I end with Mr Pewik's sentence at Newcastell, your lordship knows it. I houpe to waite upon your lordship if once you wer in Scotland, I dar say the sooner the better; let this serve for my Lord Libberton, to whom I haive no new thing to say. Your lordship knows how honest a

to that relict;* there's some bowing, some kneeling, some kissing it, and so it was buried with the body. But it was observed in the meantime that the Lord of Gorthie, the gentleman who tooke his

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man the bearer is, so if your lordship can ingadg him in sum place about the king, it cannot be repented.

" I am your lordship's affectionat uncle and servant,

" ARGYLL.

" *Edin. 22d May.*"

Montrose, a man of gallantry as well as a soldier, (his letters from many ladies, " flourished, says Bishop Guthrie, with Arcadian compliments," were made public by Lord Sinclair, sent to explore his cabinet for more important documents,) had exercised his genius in poetical composition; and after condemnation he possessed sufficient presence of mind to write a few verses, which a late ingenious historian treats with as much severity as if the marquis had passed them off as a translation from the Gaelic. But Hume, a man of delicate taste, commends this trifle; and Voltaire, whose judgement in such affairs is still more to be respected, says, " Ce brave homme dit a ses juges, qu'il n'etait fâché que de n'avoir pas assez de membres pour être attachés à toutes les portes des villes de l'Europe, comme des monumens de sa fidelité pour son roi. Il mit même cette pensée en *assez beaux vers*, en allant au supplice."—Voltaire continues, " C'etait un des plus agréables esprits qui cultivassant alors les lettres, et l'ame la plus heroïque qui fût dans les trois Royaumes."—*Essay sur l'Histoire Générale.*

* After the execution of Montrose, Lady Napier, the wife of his near relation and intimate friend, purchased his heart at a great price, and enshrined it in an urn, which is represented in her portrait, belonging to Lord Napier. The fashion of preserving such relics, however, did not belong entirely to the loyal party, but subsequently infected the presbyterians themselves, if we are to credit a volume of MS. poems, written during the reigns of Charles the Second and his brother, one of which celebrates a certain Mrs Mary Creighton, who wore a Cameronian tooth as a relic :—

" She showed to me a box wherein lay hid
The pictures of Cargill and Mr Kid;
A splinter of the tree on which they're slain;
A double inch of Major Weir's best cane;

head from the iron-spyke upon which it was fixt, died within some few hours, and the Laird of Pitcurre, one of Montrose's great adherents, after he hade drunk liberally in the Advocate's house that same day, went to bed in health, but was taken up stark dead to-morrow morning; and such was the testimony of honour heaven was pleased to allow Montrose's pompuous funerals. This was done some few dayes before the death of the Marquesse of Argyle.

I cannot omit one example of the madness of the people at that time. Upon the first 29th of May, 1661, the town of Lithgow, Robert Mill being chief author, and Mr James Ramsey (who afterward ascended the height of the pitifull bishoprick of Dumblane) being minister, after they hade filled their streets with bonfires very throng, and made their crosse run wine, added also this ridiculous pageant: They framed ane arch upon four pillars, and upon one side the picture of ane old hagge with the Covenant in her hand, and this inscription above: A GLORIOUS REFORMATION. On the other side of the arch was a whigge with the Remonstrance in his hand, with this inscription, NO ASSOCIATION WITH MALIGNANTS. On the other side was the Committee of Estates, with this inscription, ANE ACT FOR DELIVERING UP THE KING. On the fourth side was the Commission of the Kirk, with this inscription, THE ACT OF THE WEST KIRK. On the top of the arch stood the De-

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Rathillet's sword beat down to table knife,
Which took at Magus Muir a bishop's life;
The worthy Welch's spectacles, who saw
That windle straws would fight against the law;
The windle straws were stoutest of the two,
They stood their ground, away the Prophet flew.
And lists of all the prophets names were seen
At Bothwell-bridge, Aird-moss, and Rullion green."

vil, with this inscription, STAND TO THE CAUSE. In the midst of the arch was a litany:

> From Covenants with uplifted hands,
> From Remonstrators with associate bands,
> From such Committees as govern'd this nation,
> From Church Commissioners and their protestation,
> Good Lord deliver us.

They hade also the picture of Rebellion in religious habit, with the book Lex Rex in one hand, and the causes of God's wrath in the other, and this in midst of rocks, and reels, and kirk stools, logs of wood, and spurs, and covenants, acts of assembly, protestations, with this inscription, REBELLION IS THE MOTHER OF WITCHCRAFT. Then after the minister hade sanctified the debauch with a goodly prayer, and while they were drinking the king's health, they put fire to the whole frame, which quickly turned it to ashes. Lastly, in place of this there appeared a table supported by four Angels with a sonnet to the king's praise, and so with drunkenness enough they concluded the day. This was not required by any law, but they would outrun the law. All these men some twelve years before hade renewed the covenant with uplifted hands, but single perjury could not satisfie them, except they boasted in their sin with a triumph.

LIB. IV.

MIDDLETON'S SECOND SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

THE king hade been crowned at Westminster on Aprile 23d, St George's day, (to oblidge that amorous chimerical saint to be propitious to England,) and was arrayed with glory and pomp enough. They who wrote his history will tell you, he made his pleasure his business, and that at length he came to that pass, that it was thought nothing uncivil for the peers of England to talk of his popish misses in their house of parliament even before the king's face, nor for the commons to number his bastards in their house, and that with a scoffe. Alwayes after Middleton hade finished his first session of parliament, to court he posts, with als much joy as ever he felt when he returned victor from the field, having done more by his commission than ever he hade done by his sword; and a welcome man you may believe he was to his majesty, whom he told, he had now peopled Scotland with a new generation of subjects, als obsequious as ever his and their fathers had been rebellious. Welcome also he was to the bishops of England, having acquired one national church more among all the reformed to bear them company in their way to heaven. Indeed he carried more high while he was in Scotland than ever any of our 108 sober limited kings hade done; and something of his height of spirit he retained even after his return to England, and that large as much to his hurt as his advantage. But now the king's darling design of establishing bishops was ripe, and

ready to bring forth; forasmuch as the parliament hade given the king power to establish what forme of church government he thought good; so the first consultation at court was not indeed what to doe, (for bishops was the end and aim,) but how to doe it, and by what method to proceed with best advantage; and in this they were secure enough, for Middleton assured them they needed not fear opposition. Yet tho' no publick opposition was made to the introduction of episcopacy, great was the grief and fear among the people of Scotland upon that occasion. Episcopacy hade never been popular in Scotland, not in the dayes of ancient ignorance; but since the Reformation, in regarde Scotland was reformed by a sort of missionaries from Geneva, bishops were alwayes looked at with a frown. Indeed the people of Scotland (leaving the arguments from Scripture and the testimonies of Jerom to schollars) used much to insist upon a sort of popular concrete arguments. The bishops hade almost all been both patrones of sin and paterns of profaneness; and if a man in repute turned bishop, it was observed he changed both frame and practise to the worse; and, as Beza had foretold, bishops would introduce epicurisme and atheism; so Scotland found godliness withered under their shaddow, and wickedness overspread the land first and last. They had a sting for no man but a puritan or a presbyterian; beside, they knew well that the bishops, having perjured themselves most solemnly, would do as the fallen Angels did,—endeavour to corrupt mankind by involving all Scotland in their own sin, that so their personal sin might be excuseable as being the sin of the times. They hade also seen a curse attend almost all the bishops' persons and families, and all that were active to introduce them were plagued as these that rebuilt Jericho, and such as these they loved not. It was also found by experience, that as episcopacy is a branch of popery, so it led alwayes to the root, and therefore bishops were looked at as the

papists harbingers. So the body of the people of Scotland were heart enemies to bishops; and even those of the ministry who joyned with the bishops in their pretended synods and presbyteries, protested themselves enemies to episcopacy, protesting they believed what they did might well consist with the principles of a presbyterian, and they kept themselves in place only that they might be in condition to oppose the bishops' course, which they alleadged the ministers turned out could not so well doe.* However, the king

* "Presbytery and prelacy will never agree, because prelacy hath invented a new way of worshipping God by a set form of prayer, which they call, The Book of Common Prayer. Truly they have given it a right name, for it is but a common prayer indeed; it is not the book of spiritual prayers, so it cannot be acceptable to God, who only must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. Of all the books in the world, it is the most useless and unreasonable, to think that a book can teach us to pray to God; whereas it is the office of Christ, as a Prophet, to teach; we need not employ Christ when we have a book to teach us. O what can ail prelacy at precious Christ, that they strike so hard to rob him of his glorious titles! The king must have one, the bishop another, the service-book a third. O unreasonable, to print prayers! Prayer does not consist in words, Rom. viii. 26. The Spirit helpeth our infirmities, with sighs and groans which cannot be uttered. Great Mr Samuel Rutherfoord says, they cannot print sighs and groans; so then printed prayers are but toothless and pithless. John Knox, writing to a gentlewoman, exhorts her to beware of the service-book, for it was but the dregs of popery. It is a most unreasonable book, if we will consider the relation God comes under to his people; he is their Husband, their Father; what, needs the wife a book to learn her how to speak to her husband? or the child a book to speak to his father? The intimacy that is betwixt them produces converse; but it seems the prelates and their companions have little intimacy with Christ. For, as a godly minister said, they speak to him as if they had never spoken to him all their days before. Think they, by their printed prayers, to compliment Christ out of his rights? Many sweet hour the people of God enjoys with him without a prayer-book. Where got Jacob his prayer-book when he wrestled all night and prevailed? To be sure, printed prayers cannot be called wrestling, so neither can they prevail. What if a man going to a physician with a distressed and distempered body, one meets him and says, I will give you a book that will teach you how to make your distemper known to the doctor? O!

(even as his fathers) was resolute for bishops, notwithstanding his oath to the contrair. He knew well bishops would never be reprovers of the court, and the first article of their catechism was non-resistance. They were men of that discretion as to dissemble great men's faults, and not so severe as the presbyterians. They were the best tools for tyrannie in the world; for, doe a king what he would, their daily instruction was, kings could doe no wrong, and that none might put forth a hand against the Lord's anointed and be in-

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says the man, that is unreasonable. I know my trouble better than all the books in the world can tell me: they need not want a prayer-book that have an ill heart. So is this new invented way of worship, the presbyterians will never agree with prelacy; because it is not of God's appointment; for in all the Scripture we never read of a prayer-book. Now, is this, whether is presbytery or prelacy rightest, to serve God by a form or in spirit?

"Presbytery will never agree with prelacy; because they have invented some holy-days, no where warranted in all the Scripture, such as the 25th of December, which they call Yule-day, or Christmas, on which day, they say, Christ was born: therefore, in testimony of their thankfulness, they will eat the best meat, and drink the best drink that can be had, and in so doing they think they put respect on Christ's birth day. But the truth is, the observation of this day is rather to please their greedy appetite, than any thankfulness for his birth; but that religion goes best down that consists in worldly honours and sensual pleasures. O souls! do you think that your eating will be pleasing to him, when you are using his good creatures to excess? But how do they know that he was born on this day? Or, where have you any express command for the observation of it in such a manner? Would you know the original of Yule-day? In the year 1521, in the time when popery overspread these lands, there was one Julius Cæsar, to whom this day was kept in memory of him; and therefore was called Yule-day: but after this they thought fit to celebrate it to the honour of Christ's birth, therefore it was called Christmas. Now, you see they have no other warrant for keeping this day, than what the church of Rome has taught them. But some may say, may we not eat good meat on that day as well as on other days? Yes, you may; for, under the New Testament, all meats may be made use of for the support of nature, all days are alike, but to eat that meat that is prepared for the superstitious observators of Yule-day (it being a sacrifice to an idol) is expressly forbidden, 1 Cor. viii. Now

nocent. The king knew also he should be sure of their vote in parliament, desire what he would, and that they would plant a sort of ministers which might instill principles of loyalty into the people till they turned them first slaves and then beggars. They were all for the king's absolute power, and most of them for the universal propriety, and to make the people believe the king was lord of all their goods without consent of parliament: And for these reasons, and such as these, they were so much the darlings of our kings, that King James was wont to say, no bishop no king; so bishops the king would have at any rate. Mean time the king's character stood so high in the opinion and idolatrous affections of the miserable people of Scotland, that a man might more safely blasphemed Jesus Christ than derogate in the least from the glory of his perfections; people would never believe he was to introduce bishops till they were setled in their seat; and there was a certain man hade his tongue bored for saying the Duke of York was a papist, which the priests at London would not believe upon his coronation day; and that day he went first to masse, 14 of them choised for their text Psalm 118. 22. making him the corner stone of the protestant religion. As for King Charles, many a time did the mini-

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the presbyterians will never agree with this: and, because they knew not Christ's particular birth-day, they will every day remember it with thankfulness, it being the blessedest news that ever came to the world: therefore they will not be bound up to a yearly, but a daily remembrance."—*Memoirs, or Spiritual Exercises of* ELIZABETH WEST, (a pious waiting-woman of Edinburgh,) *written by her own hand.*—N.B. She was a wonderful runner after preachers, though she had "a load weight of corruption bearing her down, like a draff-pock at her heels," and a great recorder of her own experiences. One time, among many others, being weary of a sermon in the Tron Kirk, a dog bit her leg most desperately, in which she saw the hand of Providence, and could not but acknowledge, "righteous art thou, O Lord, in all thy procedure against me."

sters of Scotland (and even many godly men among them) give the Lord hearty thanks that wee had a gracious protestant king, though within a few years he published it to the world, that he lived a secret papist all his life, and died a professed one, with the hostie in his mouth. Alace! that the world should be so ignorant of that which concerns them so much.

As it is certain the king was in his heart for bishops, so no doubt the design of settling them in Scotland was projected immediatly upon his return; for though he and the English bishops believed it impossible to effectuate it in Scotland in regarde of the aversion the nation hath alwayes shewed from that office, yet, being encouraged by some of our Scottish lords, he listened to the offer with very great delight. When the lords went first up to welcome the king, there was ane occasional meeting of a good many of them, where the question was debated what form of government the king should establish in the church of Scotland. Middleton and Glencairn were resolute for bishops, promising they would both compose the church and manadge it to the king's mind; Lauderdale opposed it stiffely, affirming the king should losse thereby the affectiones of the people of Scotland, and that the bishops should be so far from enlargeing the king's power, they would prove a burdine too heavy for him to bear; and herein he proved als true a prophet as he was a faithfull friend to the king. Alwayes then begane the discord betwixt Lauderdale and Middleton, which ended not till Middleton was ruined; however, princes many times love flatterers better than friends, and so it was at this time. Within some few dayes Glencairn came to visit Lauderdale in his chamber, where resuming the late debate, he told Lauderdale, that tho' the other day he hade declared himself for bishops, he desired not to be mistaken, for he was only for a sort of sober moderate bishops, such as they were in the primitive times, but not for the lordly prelats, such as were in Scotland be-

fore. Lauderdale answered him with ane oath, that since they hade chosen bishops, bishops they should have, higher than any that ever were in Scotland, and that he should find. But now Middleton triumphed so on the successe of his first session of parliament, the design was judged ripe to bring forth, as presently it did. The method by which the king proceeded was this: first, by a proclamation of 10th of June, 1661, he declared, that forasmuch as the parliament hade, by their act March , referred the settlement of the government to his will, therefore he would take care to establish such a government as might best suite with monarchy and the peace of the nation, and in the mean time allowes synods and presbytries to continue in power till further order. So wee hade presbytery depending upon supremacy; but because this was only ane external denomination, ministers took no notice of it, and acted as formerly. But that you may know what a comfortable shaddow the supremacy is to presbytery, by a new proclamation, dated Sept. 6, the king declares he will, and hereby does, restore the ancient government by bishops, dischargeing all synods to meet any time thereafter. So presbytery, by the allowance of the supremacy, lasted in Scotland near three months; and this proclamation was the first considerable act our new constitute secret councill of Scotland (who were first constitute Jully 13th before) did ever enact. And now at length the dispute of the king's intentions came to ane end, and the letter to Edinburgh presbytrie was cleared.

Then followed the time of soliciting at court for preferrment to these who aspired to the bishopricks, where greatest friendship made the bishop. In the mean time Mr Sharp makes (for the fashion) a visit to Mr Robert Douglass at his own house, where, after his preface, he informed him it was the king's purpose to settle the church under bishops, and that for respect to him his majesty was very desireous Mr Douglass would accept the archbishopric of St Andrews. Mr Dou-

glass answered, he would have nothing to doe with it, (for in his private conversation he used neither to harangue nor to dispute); Sharp insisted and urged him; Mr Douglass answered as formerly, whereupon Sharp arose and took leave. Mr Douglass convoyed him to his gallery door; and after he hade passed the door, Mr Douglass called him back, and told him, James, (said he,) I see you will engadge, I perceive you are clear, you will be bishop of St Andrews: take it, and the curse of God with it. So clapping him upon the shoulder, he shutt his door upon him. Mean time, after the last proclamation, our new-made councill discharged all the presbytries of Scotland to ordain any ministers, choising rather to have the people altogether unprovided than to hazard the admission of one who might perchance prove disaffected to episcopacy, and some presbytries were called before our new councills, and severely threatned for admitting expectants at that time contrare to their proclamation.

But that you may understand the disposition of our new bishops the better, you must know a man may wonder whether it was their clear light (which no man thought) or their great avarice made them embrace ane office so odious and so dangerous. All the bishopricks in Scotland set together will not make 4000 lib. English in ordinary years, and some of them are but trifles. The revenue of the bishopricke of Argyle is ordinarly about 130 lib. English, Dumblane about 120; so it would seem a weak tentation hes done well enough with their strong corruption. Now the men the king named were, first, Mr James Sharp, of whom before, but something is yet to be discovered many years after this; he was for St Andrews, the metropolitan. Mr Andrew Ffairfoull, for Glasgow, a man of good learning and neat expression, but was never taken for a man either serious or sincere, and was, moreover, judged a man both prophane and scandalous; all the Merse talked of his amours with

—— Broun, the fair wife of Polwart. Then came Mr George Wishart, he was for Edinburgh, a man of learning, but who hade been censured by the old covenanters at Duncelaw; he was a daily drunkard and ane infamous swearer, even upon the streets.* Mr George Haliburton, for Dunkell, was a man of utterance, but who hade made more changes then old infamuous Eccebolius, and was never thought sincere in any, he seemed to be so ingenious and never was, you may guesse what savour was in that salt. Mr Thomas Saintserf hade been formerly Bishop of Galloway, and was deposed not only for the common errors of the bishops, but also for erroneous doctrine; but he was now by the king appointed for Orknay, the better benefice.† Mr David Mitchell, once minister at Edinburgh, but deposed for heresy, he was for Aberdeen. Mr James Hamilton, presently minister at Camnethan, was appointed for Galloway, a man only noticed for his warry time-serving, otherwayes, a man of most contemptible parts. Mr Robert Wallace, a relation of the Chancelour's, appointed for the Isles. Mr David Fletcher, minister at Melrose, a man of many pious prefaces, but who never missed ane occasion of embracing this present world; after he was made Bishop of Argyle, he continued minister at Melrose, because it hade a good stipend; and yet he would boast of it as if he hade been a man more spiritual then the rest of his brethren, who preached none; after he was made bishop, he never hade almost one dayes peace because of sorrow and sickness. Mr Patrick Forbes, the degenerate son of ane excellent father, Mr John For-

* Wishart had been chaplain to Montrose, and was *guilty* of writing, in elegant Latin, that narrative of his exploits, which was suspended by a cord from the marquis's neck (through the wretched spite of his enemies) during his execution.

† Burnet of Crimont, in a letter to Warriston, justifies the Bishop of Galloway as more learned and more conscientious than any of those who were upon his excommunication.—*Memorials and Letters, &c. published by Lord* HAILES.

bes, banished for holding the assembly at Aberdeen, he was appointed for Caithness. Mr David Strachan, because he was Middleton's minister, was made poor Bishop of Breichen. Mr John Paterson was made Bishop of Rosse; and Mr Murdoch M'Kenzie was made Bishop of Murray; both men very inconsiderable, and therefore obscure. Mr Robert Leightoun, then principal of Edinburgh Colledge, was made Bishop of Dumblane; thus he choised to demonstrate to the world avarice was not his principle, it being the smallest revenue; a man of good learning, excellent utterance, and very grave abstract conversation, but almost altogether destitute of a doctrinal principle, being almost indifferent among all the professions that are called by the name of Christ; and these were the king's choise, at the request of a friend, to be the first Bishops of Scotland. Four of these, Sharp, Ffairfoull, Hamilton, and Leighton, the king called up to London, that there they might receive episcopal ordination, a flower not to be found in a Scottish gardine; so, by Doctor Sheldon, Bishop of London, and two or three suffragans, they were solemnly consecrate. But first there was a question to be answered, and that was, Whether they were to be reordained presbyters, yea or no? Sharp desired they might be excused, and that their presbyterian ordination might be sustained. Episcopal they could not have, and the former English bishops had sustained Spotswood's presbyterian ordination in the year 1610; but Sheldon was peremptory, either they must renunce their old presbyterian ordination, or misse their expected episcopal coronation, so they were content rather to deny themselves to be presbyters then not to be received bishops; and when they consented, Sheldon told Sharp that was the Scottish fashion, to scruple at every thing and swallow any thing. But with a great processe of change of vestments, offices, prayers, bowing to the altar and kneeling at the communion, they were reordained presbyters and consecrated bishops both in

one day, and this was a preface to a fat episcopal banquet, and so their work ended: This was done December 1661.

The first thing done after the bishops' consecration, and for their establishment, was a proclamation emitted by the councill dischargeing all the presbyteries of Scotland to meet or exerce any jurisdiction over the people of Scotland, inhibiting also all the people of Scotland to own, countenance, or obey any of them, and this with great threatning; this bare date January 2, 1662. When it came abroad, ministers divided about it; the greater part of presbyteries resolved to give full obedience to it; some, who desired to continue in their possession, mett together, but found they could doe no bussinesse, and the essay of a few was but taken for a vain shew by many; so, by little and little, the presbyteries of Scotland were wholly deserted. It was a time wherein men spent more of their thoughts upon apprehension of approaching suffering then upon dangerous undertakings; nor was there that spirit to be found amongst either ministers or people that was necessary for such a work. About this time died John Earle of Loudon, late Chancellor, and it was thought grief was no small part of the cause of it; he hade been a great actor in the late Reformation, which exposed him very much to the king's most bitter hattred, and the envy of the malignant party whom he hade so much suppressed. He hade earnestly desired the king's remission, and was alwayes peremptorly refused; and he knew his life was at the king's mercy, as the whole nation lay under the guilt of treason by submitting to the English, and there was no indemnity granted as yet, which made him wholly despair of life. He was often heard to exhort his lady to pray fast that he might never see the next session of parliament, else he would be sure to follow his chiefe Argyle, and the Lord granted this request. He was a man of excellent endouments, learning, wisdom, judgement, and courage; he died a very godly death, and purged himself of his sins

by ingenious confession and hearty application of the blood of Jesus.

Middleton was now merry at court, and bussie brooding over his designs and hopes to advance himself in this next session of parliament, as much as he fancied he hade obliedged his master in the former; he lookt at the former session as his seed-time, he and his creatures hoped well the next should be their harvest; meantime, the quarrel betwixt him and Lauderdale encreased every day. Little thing was done in Scotland by our rulers till, near the diet of the parliament, they thought fitt to give a proof of their zeal for the new bishops, which was to make ane example of terror in some of the most considerable or most hated of the ministers in the west countrey; this they hoped should cudgel the rest of that tribe into humble submission to bishops to prevent personal suffering. The ministers were, Mr John Carstares, Mr James Newsmith, Mr Matthew Mowat, Mr James Rowat, Mr James Vetch, Mr Alexander Blair, Mr William Adair, and Mr William Fullerton, (it seems he has been past, for I find no mention of him in the act;) Mr William Adair took a separate course from his honest brethren, and so saved himself, but with very great offence. The other six were brought before the chancellor, and then after they hade been sufficiently reproved and threatned for their rebellious principles and disloyal practices, in particular some late reflectiones found in their sermons, they were commanded to stay in Edinburgh till the parliament should meet, and to answer before them. After the parliament were conveened, May they were brought before it, and (to put their whole affair together, though it was acted by parts) hade for a tryel of their honesty the oath of supremacy tendered to them (but under the false name of the oath of alleadgance,) and were required to subscribe it as it stood in the act of parliament. They

took the paper into consideration, and, after some dayes serious deliberation, returned their answer in write, wherein they declared they believed the king was supreme governour over all persons and in all causes, not only civil, but ecclesiastick; but that this power of the king's is, in its own nature, only civil and extrinsick as to causes ecclesiastick, and so they interpret the dark and dangerous clause in the oath, but this was upon the matter to refuse it; this they subscribe and present. Our rulers intended either to make them ane example of obedience or ane example of suffering; and because they refused to obey, and for satisfying the bishops whom they must serve, the brethren were instantly commanded to prison, three and three in a chamber, to the great prejudice of their health, till they were, by the parliament, banished the king's dominions. Afterward the chancellor, upon second thoughts, being informed it would be to the dishonour of the parliament to banish them, upon a paper all reformed churches would approve, got them referred to the councill, by whom, upon September the tenth following, they were (as many as hade been banished, for Mr Carstares being detained through sickness when the sentence was pronounced, was not present) liberate from the punishment of exile, but strictly forbidden to exerce their ministry at their charges, declaring their churches vacant, and commanded to forsake them, and not to meddle with the preceeding year's stipend; and so ended this persecution, rather confirming than any way terrifying any whom the parliament purposed to have taught with briars and thorns.

Middleton was at this time as full of expectations as he was of confidence; he hade formerly found the parliament as pliant and soft as wax to the seall, now he hopes to find his master as liberal as he hade been officious; but somewhat more must be done for establishing our beloved bishops. Wee hade thir bishops establish-

ed by the king's authority upon the foundation of his supremacy; but this was not enough, wee must now have them confirmed by act of parliament. So the first act they fall upon was, Act establishing Bishops, wherein, after they have declared and explained the king's supremacy at large, they doe redintegrate the estate of bishops, restoring them to their ancient places and undoubted priviledges in parliament, and to their other accustomed dignities, priviledges, and jurisdictions, and to the exercise of the episcopal function, presidence in the church, power of ordination, inflicting of censures, and all other acts of discipline; which office they are to exerce with the advice of such of the clergy as they shall think fitt. Thereafter they restore them to their civil rights, possessions, patronages, superiorities, and all their other emoluments, in most ample manner. They were their own carvers, for the act was drawn by Bishop Sharp's advice, though some say they grumbled because they got not all they required; however, whoso shall compare this sett of bishops with the old bishops established in the year 1612, shall find that these were but a sort of pigmeys, compared with our new bishops; for, first, the presbyteries were standing judicatories, useing the power of the keyes in the time of the former bishops; but in the time of the new bishops there was no shadow of church power in Scotland, except what resided or flowed from the bishop in person; and as presbyteries were discharged before ever our new prelates entered upon their throne, so it was a considerable time, even some years, before ever ministers were permitted to meet together, so much as for the exercise of their ministerial gifts; and when they first mett, they were constitute a meeting for such and such effects, by virtue of the bishop's commission allowing the ministers of the precinct secluding the ruling elders. Moreover, the first bishops were, in effect, allowed no more but a sort of negative vote,

and great were the conflicts betwixt some stout presbyteries and the encroaching bishops; but the new bishops had not only a negative, but a positive vote, having the full power of government lodged upon their solitary person, their assistants being only their arbitrary attendants, or shaddows. However, men said the bishops grumbled because they were not reponed to all that the popish bishops enjoyed.

At this very time the king married Katherine of Portugal, a marriage that produced a great many disappointments and nothing else. The king thought well to have secured his government in his happy issue; he never hade any by her, and so was disappointed. The queen thought to have been a glorious happy queen; she was so treated, that, within a very little time, she begged of her gracious husband leave to return to her nunnery where she hade been bred. The King of Portugal expected great friendship of his brother-in-law, and he hade even as much friendship as our king hade satisfaction in the marriage. Chancellor Hyde had provided a barren woman to be queen, that the crown might devolve upon his issue by his daughter the Dutchess of York. How this will hold, God knows; but I am sure he who now wears the crown is none of Hyde's posterity.

About this time also happened ane accident upon which Middleton built both designs and hopes. The estate of the late Marquesse of Argyle, forfaulted by the parliament, by the Scottish law falling into the king's hand, was the morsell Middleton designed for his owne mouth, trusting well that should be the king's reward of his noble service; he imagined also he might add the title of duke to the marquesate, and so he should be at anchor for riches and honour; but hearing, to his griefe, the marquesse' his eldest son was fair for his father's estate, by his favour with the king and friend-

ship at court, he found that obstacle must be removed before he should compasse his design; and the way he took was this. The estate of the late Marquesse of Huntley, formerly forfaulted by the Scottish parliament, hàde been given to the late Marquesse of Argyle, his brother-in-law, as being his greatest creditor, but with the burdine of 400,000 merks of Huntley's debt. Now this parliament thought good to restore Huntley to his estate free of burdine, and leave the debt of Huntley's to be payed by the estate of Argyle, when they heard the marquesse his son was in hopes of it. This grieved the young nobleman very much; he complained to his friends, and, among the rest, signified his resentment in a letter to the Lord Duffus, his brother-in-law. This letter was by Middleton intercepted, and because the young nobleman hade used some expressions which seemed to reflect upon those who hade been active in this most prejudicial act of parliament, the parliament declare it high treason, though all that he said was, he hoped this cloud would pass over, and some mens cheatings should be discovered. Thereafter the parliament write to the king to send down the young nobleman to answer for his letter, and then the parliament condemn him as guilty of high-treason, referring only the time of his execution to the king's pleasure; then the estate of Argyle came into Middleton's prospect for the second time, though he missed it for ever, for the young nobleman was pardoned by the procurement of Lauderdale, Middleton's perpetual adversary; but he continued a while in prison, and then was liberate and possessed his father's estate, though only with the title of earle.

The parliament was also pleased, at this time, to send a lybell of treason to a good many of the protesting ministers both in the west and in the south, but because of the constancy they found in the first six ministers, whom they intended to have made examples, they forebore to prosecute these ministers at that time. But the next

considerable act of parliament was upon the young ministers who hade entered to the ministry since the beginning of the year 1649, when patronages hade been by law abolished; these they declared to have hade no right to their stipends at any time since their admission to the ministry, requireing them to obtain presentation from the patron, and collation from their respective bishops, betwixt and the 20th day of September next; and in case he neglect so to doe, then the church to be provided by patron and prelat according to the new laws. Many wondered that the old ministers who hade promoted the two covenants, hade been at Duncelaw and Marston-Moore in armes against the king, were graciously forborn, and these innocent youths, who hade exerced their ministry under the conquering English, to whom they were alwayes opposite, (and some of whom hade suffered for the king) should be by our parliament made both the first and greatest sufferers under bishops. Indeed, many of the old ministers were permited to continue in their ministry, (even tho' non-conforme) and to die in their manse, when the poor young men were not only outted off their ministry, but tossed like locusts; but the father eat the sowr grapes, and the childrens' teeth were set on edge. It was thought strange that they who hade acquired ane estate, or possessed a rent, whatever it was, were judged lawfull possessors, and permitted to enjoy their purchase, whatever it was; only the young ministers who entered to their ministry according to the rules of the scripture (where there are no patrons to be found) and the acts of parliament in force for the time, approven by the king and three estates, should be judged intruders or robers; but the true reason of this was, our bishops believed the young men would make the weakest opposition, and it may be make that excuse which some made, that they hade not been personally active in the late alterations; and herein they were much mistaken, for where there was ane old man that suffered for op-

posing bishops, there were three young men that suffered for that cause; but so it uses to be, persecutors are many times as far from wisdom as they are from justice.

The next considerable act was ane act ordaining all such as should exercise any office or trust in Scotland, to subscribe the declaration, wherein, first, they declare it unlawfull for subjects, under any pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues or covenants, or to take up armes against the king, or any commissionate by him; and that the National Covenant, (as explained in the year 1638, and thereafter) also the Solemn League and Covenant, are in themselves unlawfull oaths; and that their lyes no obligation on the subscriber from any of these oathes. It was enough with all nations to break ane oath if they judged it unlawfull; but our governours in Scotland can never doe enough against these oathes. First, they declare them illegal and against law, this was negative; and although they hade in this second session of parliament, in a preceeding act, condemned them the second time, yet this is not enough, except it be done in a formal instrument by itself, this declaration; and, last of all, it came to be not only renunced by the declaration, but foresworn by the test, that one oath might expell another. It was a sad thing to hear the same man who hade pressed and commended the Covenant as the great duty of the times, and a mode of the covenant of grace, the next day call it rebellion and sin; and this made so many of the poor people of Scotland turn wild and abhorre the ministry, and atheists to abhorre preaching; and the oath of supremacy, the declaration, and the test, were the great tentations of Scotland, and, in some respect, like David's lines upon the Moabites, (though in another sense) two lynes to put to death, and with one lyne to keep alive.

The last considerable act in this session was the much-desired Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, wherein his majesty pardons all

the subjects of Scotland for any thing done by them in the time of the late warrs or troubles upon the public account, but with divers exceptiones, particularly two, one called the Act of Fynes, the other the Act of Billeting. In the Act of Fynes, the parliament, by a committee appointed for the purpose (who were obliedged not to discover any name till the act was past) fyned about 7 or 800, of whom they leavied a vast sume, which Middleton hoped well to distribute amongst his dependents and retainers for a sort of drink-money, but hade never the power to command one farthing of it, either for himselfe or his friends. But amongst these who were fined, first there were some found who were in their graves, as Thomas Scot in Selkrige; next, some were on the nurse's breast, as Andrew Scot of ; and some who could not be found in Scotland, because they hade never been in the world; several who lived out of the poor's box; and Robert Ker of Graden (because ane honest man, a merchant in Kelso, refused to afford him a suite of cloaths upon trust, for he doubted payment) caused the man to be fyned in six hundred merks Scots for a noble revenge. But this was the prudence and justice of poor Scotland at that time, and by this you may judge what a directory for conscience our Scottish lawes were. However, these fynes were all exacted by military execution and quartering of troupers, where they hade any hopes any thing could be found. Many ministers were once named, but of that they were afterward ashamed; it may be they thought it would be hard to raise fynes where there was no money, or to quarter upon a man that hade not a house, as it was with the ministers within a little time.

Another exception in the indemnity was the famous Act of Billeting, wherein the parliament, by a billet from every member, concluded twelve persons incapable of office or employment in Scotland; and one was so jocund in his billet, he named twelve of the

bishops, that you may know how serious they were in it. Alwayes this act was Middleton's engyne, by which he hoped well to have blowen Lauderdale, his competitor, out of court and favour; but it occasioned such a reckoning betwixt king and parliament as was never in Scotland before. The king alleadged he was misinformed by the parliament, which made him consent to it; the parliament alleadging they were disappointed by the king, who first commanded it and then discharged it. Certain it is, the king once gave order for it, and thereafter disclaimed and reduced it: But it was believed, hade Middleton kept his court and Lauderdale fallen, the billeting had stood (Lauderdale being the chief man the parliament hade incapacitate,) and the authority of the act depended upon the event of the combat betwixt them two; and how that controversie was manadged wee shall shew hereafter. But after this act was past, Middleton thought he hade wrought a noble exploit, having so much enlarged the king's power, and secured the bishops both to flatter and support him: So he adjourned the parliament till May 20th, in the year 1663. About this time happened the English Saint Bartholomew, even upon the 24th of August. All the ministers of England who would not conform to the alterations in the church of England, both in government and ceremonies, were by a severe proclamation forbide and discharged the exercise of their ministry, upon which 3000 churches were laid desolate in one day; and this the people of England compared with the king's promise and declaration at Breda, wherein he promised liberty and protection to tender dissenting consciences. But now this tree of death, episcopacy, is planted in the church of Scotland; and as for the fruit it produced, you may read the records of our councill, who were in effect the bishops' journeymen, and for many years spent one day of the week to serve the bishops and to destroy their opposits.

There you may find imprisonments, fynes, scourgings, exile, torture, selling for slaves, scattering of poor families, night searches, and afterward hanging and beheading; for they used no other policy, by the bishops' counsell, but Pharaoh's policy to suppresse Israel, and it hade the same effect, for the more their enemies oppressed them the more they multiplied. And now the first fruites of the tree were upon the 16th of September. The commissioner and the councill call before them Mr James Hamilton, Mr John Smith, and Mr George Hutcheson, requireing them to engadge for submission to the bishops, which they refusing, the councill by ane act command the magistrates of Edinburgh to make intimation to all the ministers within the city, that if, betwixt and the first of October next, they gave not satisfaction to the bishop for owning the government and concurring in discipline, they shall remove themselves and their families out of the city at Martinmas next, and reside elswhere. All of them, Mr Robert Douglass, Mr James Hamilton, Mr John Smith, Mr George Hutcheson, Mr Thomas Garvan, Mr John Stirling, obeyed and removed; Mr Robert Traile hade withdrawn before; only one, Mr Robert Lourie, kept his benefice, and changed his profession; him the common people called the nest egge; but afterward he came to be the sorrie Bishop of Briechen, which he enjoyed not long, and disowned when he died, desireing the bellman to design him minister, but not bishop, and so he left the stage.

Now Middleton was at leisure to divert himself, and therefore he will make a progresse into the west countrey. But first he dispatches Sir George M'Kenzie of Tarbett to court to agent the billeting business, and if possible to pull down Lauderdale, and then he takes his journey. He hade alwayes at hand a quorum of the councill, if any occasion happened for them; but such a rant as he

made in that progresse was never known in Scotland before or after. They who hade a mind to entertain him agreeably, hade not only their dining room for eating, but their drinking room for suilling, their spueing room for vomiting, and their sleeping room when men hade lost their senses. When he came to Glasgow he was entertained by Bishop Fairfoull with a very sad complaint, that, notwithstanding the act of parliament, never a young minister hade acknowledged or owned him for a bishop, and that he hade only the hatred that followes a bishop, but not the power that belongs to one; so it would be necessary they should either in their prudence find a more effectual expedient, or otherwayes bishops would be only ciphers. Middleton desired to know what overture he would make. The bishop answered, that if the councill would make a peremptorie act and proclamation, banishing all the young ministers from their houses, paroches, and the bounds of their respective presbytries betwixt and the first of November next, that would make them all run to the bishops, assureing the commissioner there would not be ten men among them all would losse their stipend in the cause. At his desire the councill is conveened October 4th, and because it was ane extraordinary one, I shall give their names. There were present Middleton, commissioner, Glencairn, chancellor, Duke Hamilton, Montrose, Morton, Eglinton, Lithgow, Callendar, Newburgh, Sinclair, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and Blackhall; and the report was, being conveened at Glasgow, there was never a man among them but he was drunk at the time, except only Lee. But when they were sett, the commissioner propounds the case and the bishop's overture, which all approve except the Lord Lee. He told them they would all be mistaken; that proclamation would only lay the countrey desolate, and increase the hatred to bishops, and confusions among the people; and that they would find the young ministers would suffer more than losse of stipend before they

would acknowledge bishops; and both sides pawned the reputation of their judgement upon the successe of the proclamation. However the act past, and is published at all the mercate crosses in Scotland. The commissioner was so high upon it, that because he would use authority, it was made a clause in the act and proclamation, that none of the young ministers should dare preach after the first day of October; and because he heard Mr John Inglis, minister of Hamilton, hade been so bold as to preach upon the fifth, Middleton swore deeply, hade it not been for respect to Duke Hamilton, he should have hanged him before his own door. But when he heard what a goodly effect the act hade up and down Scotland, and that the countrey was laid waste, the people were turned desperate, and that which they hade done was not only grievous to the countrey, but very offensive to their own friends, then they began to look upon one another as people who wander in a wildernesse use to doe; no man in Scotland was more dissatisfied then Bishop Sharp, who complained of Fairfoull, and said his folly hade ruined them. However, of the 900 ministers in Scotland, by this act 300 were turned out, and left not their congregations as the curats did in the year 1689, when they were obliedged and engadged upon oath by their congregations to get them gone, and never to return. I believe there was never such a sad Sabbath in Scotland, as when the poor persecuted ministers took leave of their people. It did not content the congregation to weep all of them, but they howled with a loud voice, weeping with the weeping of Jazer, as when a beseiged city is sackt.* Then Middleton began to curse and swear (as he spared not) what would these

* While fanaticism prevailed in Scotland, it was customary to give free vent to all the pious feelings, and to practise every grimace of hypocrisy, during the public celebration of divine worship. "12*th Oct.* 1650. In Edinburgh and other places the Scots come to hear our ministers, and they make such a groaning noyse in the time of

mad fellows doe? he knew very well many of them hade not a stock could maintain their poor families for six moneth; and that was very true, but he understood not they resolved to live by faith, as sufferers use to doe.

When the ministers left their paroches the question was stated to their consciences, Whither they shall sin in going to the bishop to receive collation, or suffer and goe into exile in their own countrey? They judged it best not to choose the first, for many reasons; first, they knew it was impossible for them to maintain their post against a persecuting state, and as for the benefite of the people for some few dayes, before force should come, it would not compense the losse, the ministers total destruction or exile; besides, because every preaching after October first was proclaimed a seditious conventicle, people forbore to come to church these few dayes ministers preached after the proclamation. Next, no man doubted the magistrate hade power over ministers' persons and families, and might as well banish as imprison or execute; and this proclamation was such. Moreover, at that time the honest people encouraged their ministers to enter upon the course of suffering, and were so far from being dissatisfied with them, that they praised God for their honesty and constancy. Many in Scotland rejoyced to see their ministers give that proof of their sincerity, and many longed for it; for there were some who affirmed, not 20 ministers in Scotland would losse their stipends for refusing to sitt with a bishop. They hade the example of all the ministers in suffering churches, and the late practise of the ministers of England,

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prayers as I never saw, as if they were extraordinarily affected therewith; but it seems it is the custom of the people here to do soe, by a form and custom that they have used."—*Letter from an Englishman at Edinburgh, printed in the Diurnal.*

who were commended for forbearing their ministry, which was directly discharged in England, whereas in Scotland it was but discharged by consequence. And certain it is, hade the ministers continued preaching, the people should have suspected them to have been at a secret peace with the bishops, as they did with some few who stayed a short while after the rest. Lastly, hade they stayed till they hade been turned out forcebly one by one, and their places planted immediatly as Bishop Sharp designed, the change hade never been so sensible, nor the opposition to bishops so considerable; whereas Providence made the course ministers took the first act of clear opposition to that course, by the alienation it made upon the people, and the break it made upon the countrey, the bishops and all their might was never able to heal; yet, such was the weakness of the people, that many of them began to censure what they hade formerly approven, and the ministers' bitter suffering turned with some rather into offence, then ane edifying example. Such was the cloud upon us at that time, ignorance, scrupulosity, and censure, being frequently conjoyned in our sad experience.*

Now Middleton, after he hade made his prodigious progresse through the west, (and the report went, that at Air his company drank the devil's health at the crosse in the night time,) returns to Edinburgh to his post; and tho' all men were convinced they hade made a false step in their proclamation at Glasgow, yet he and his councill judged it fitt to doe more, and therefore perceiving the

* "You that are people of God, be not too forward upon suffering, except ye be sure that He call you to it: O, saith Peter, Master, I will die for thee. Peter was too forward: Stay man, says Christ, till once I bid thee; and I trow Peter got the braid of his back, to learn him more wit in the time to come."—*Sermon, by the Rev.* ALEXANDER PEDEN.

party to be obstinate, to destroy if they could not terrifie. So they call before them Mr John Livingston, minister at Ancrum; and, first, Glencairn, upbraiding him with his rebellious principles and practises, asks him if he hade preached upon the 29th day of May last? He answered he hade, for it was his ordinary week dayes sermon. Then the chancellor askt if he hade or would engadge to keep that day afterward? which he desired they would forbear to presse. Then they told him he appeared to be a disloyal person, and therefore behooved to take the oath of alleadgeance, which he refused. Then they desired him to take time and advise upon it; this, he said, he needed not, for he was clear and resolute; upon which they instantly banished him, obliedging him to subscribe a bond never to return to his majesties dominions without licence, under the pain of death, which sentence he was constrained to obey within some few weeks. The same course they took with Mr Robert Traile, Mr John Nevoy, minister at Newmills,* Mr James Gardner, minister at Sadle, (to be ane example to the ministers of Argyle,) Mr John Brown, minister of Wamphray, (accused for reproving one of his neighbours who hade complyed with the bishops,) and Mr John Cameron, who was for necessary reasons forborne; all the rest went into exile, and died in a strange land, except Mr Traill, who returned and died privatly in Scotland, and Mr Gardner, who, through his tedious exile falling

* This was the Mr John Nave who instigated the massacre at Dunavertie, *vide p.* 44. He spelt his name Neave. Wodrow says, "this *excellent man* was the Earl of Lowdon's minister, and very much valued by his lordship, and therefore must be attacked now: he was a person of very considerable parts, and bright piety. There is a handsome paraphrase of his upon the *Song of Solomon*, in Latin verse, printed; and I have seen some accurate sermons of his upon Christ's temptations, which I wish were published. He obeyed the sentence, and died abroad."

into melancholly distempers, adventured home and was by the state overlookt.

About this time the king hearing of the unreasonableness of the fynes, sent down a proclamation, whereby the payment of the fynes was prorogate, for, by the Act of Fynes, the one-half of the fynes were to be payed at Candlemass next, in the year 1663, but by this proclamation it was continued for some time. Middleton would fain have been at the fingering the money, and therefore forbare to publish this proclamation, which highly offended the king, and was much improven by Lauderdale to Middleton's disadvantage. The last thing was done this year was the proclamation, Dec. 23, wherein the councill, finding they hade mistaken themselves at Glasgow in their rash act, allow all the ministers concerned in that act liberty, (if their churches be not planted) to obtain presentations from the patron, and collation from the bishop, at any time betwixt and the first of February following, in the year 1663. But if these ministers neglect this favour, then they command them to remove, not only out of their own paroches and presbyteries, but altogether out of the diocy of St Andrews and Edinburgh, and that two of them shall not reside in one paroch; and as for these who reside in the diocie of St Andrews or Edinburgh, they are commanded to transport themselves and their families to the north side of Tay, betwixt and the first of March. This proclamation was taken in that sense by some, as if ministers hade been permitted to return to their charges till the 1st of March, and so some did, but found they were mistaken; and this was the first thing that made the people censure ministers leaving their paroches. About this time also Sir George M'Kenzie returned from court, and brought with him a terrible alarme to Middleton, and that was, he believed his rival Lauderdale would carrie the victory in the contest at court betwixt Mid-

dleton and him. Upon this Middleton hastens out of Scotland to court as fast as he can. It is reported, that as he passed Tweed a poor countrey woman at Coldstream told him, since he hade been so bussie to destroy their ministers, he should never have more power in Scotland: from what spirit she spake I know not, but then as she said, so it came to pass.

LIB. V.

ROTHESSE, HIS SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

Now Middleton has left the stage of Scotland, upon which he never acted more; for, according to the countrey woman's prediction, thither he never returned, except for one stolen start, wherein he was as obscure as ever he hade been glorious. Nor was either his presence or government desired, his behaviour being so fierce and tyranneous, his designes vast, but built upon the ruines of his countrey; his commands were souldier-like, his ordinary, threatning; and for one instance, he hade most uncivilly threatned to kick the Countesse of Kaithness with his foot, while she was sitting upon her knees before him to beg her dead father Argyle's head to be buried.* Alwayes to court he flees, and there he meets with cold

* "1657. *Sept.* 22.—The Earle of Caithness married a daughter of the Marquesse of Argyllis, viz. Mary Cambell, his second daughter; the mariage feast stood at Roseneath, the dwelling-house of Argylle, (divers of Caithnes friends were not weill pleased with this his mariage,) her toucher was only twenty-two thousand pounds Scots."—LAMONT'S *Diary*.—This lady, whose portrait is at Taymouth, possessed a great share of beauty, and appears to have inherited a good deal of her father's talents, as many letters of hers, which I have seen, are very remarkable for craft, and ingenuity in minor politicks. Her first husband, Lord Caithness, allowed his affairs to fall into extreme disorder, after which he was induced to make a disposition of his whole estates and earldom, with the heritable jurisdictions and titles of honour, to Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, who took the burden of Caithness's debts upon himself. The earl died at Thurso East in May, 1676, and Sir John, who then resided with him, got a patent

entertainment; his first welcome was a severe repremand from the king for stopping the proclamation for prorogueing the payment of the fynes. The king asked him if he believed he hade been sent to

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creating himself Earl of Caithness; and also married his widow. But Caithness's nearest male heir disputed the titles, and a feud between the clans of Sinclair and Glenorchy commenced, in which Sir John, or Lord Caithness, behaved with extreme cruelty, under the odious warrant of fire and sword, then too easily obtained. (*Vide* FOUNTAINHALL's *Decisions*.) At length the title of Caithness was awarded to the rightful claimant, and Campbell received that of Breadalbane in lieu of it. As a curious trait of private negociation in the year 1661, some extracts from Instructions given by George, sixth Earl of Caithness, (Glenorchy's predecessor in the title,) to the Laird of Pluscardin and Patrick Smythe of Braco, at London, are subjoined from the original MS. The earl wished to resign all his lands into the king's hands for new infeftments; and also to obtain a ratification of his heritable sheriffship, concerning which there had been some dispute. After stating these points at considerable length, he proceeds, "If you find my Lord Lauderdale scruple at this particular of the heritable shereffship, or at any uther particular expresst in my signatur, all which are prejudiciall to none, but conteined in my predecessor's rights as said is, then ye ar to tak a prudentiall way with his lordship, by bearing in upon him his relations to me, and how carefull and observing I resolve to be in all his lordship's interests and concernments; and that notwithstanding thereof you may tak upon you, that if his lordship will effectuallie befriend my interest, and get his majestie's hand to my signatur, as it is drawn up, and purchase a letter to the parliament (if sitting) or exchequer, from the king, desyring my gift to pass, I will be content to give his lordship ane 100 pound sterlin, or two, befor my busines be undone; bot in this ye wold be verrie circumspect by whom ye mak this offer, and upon their avertisement I sall pay the money.

"Yow are to salute my Lady Balcarras, [this was the pious Countess of Balcarras, the friend of Richard Baxter, afterwards the second wife of Lord Argyle,] and delyver my letter to her ladyship; and informe her of my busines, to the effect she may speak to the secretarie and her other friends upon my accompt; and tak her advyce how to manadge the offer of money to his lordship; if ye think fitt, ye are to press the subscryving of my signatur with all diligence, and (if obtained) send it speedilie down, to the effect I may get this parliament's ratification thereof before it dissolve.

"Yow ar to deliver my ladie's letter to Sir Robert Murray, and shew him by your

Scotland to be a check upon the king, and to controule the king's orders, which he was bound to execute? The next was a terrible accusation of high treason from Lauderdale, founded upon many particulars; and one was, that he hade taken brybes from the greatest criminals in the nation to save them from just deserved fyning. Alwayes the conflict continued betwixt them two all that winter. Middleton was a souldier and hade suffered with the king, and undertaken for him a very dangerous part, to command the tories on the hills in Cromwell's time; and he hade for his patrons the Duke of York and Chancellor Hyde. Lauderdale was a witt and a courtier; he hade suffered much for the king, and was his privado in his secret pleasures, in which office, to keep himself in favour, he acted a most dishonourable part; for after the king's fleet was burnt at Chattam and the Dutch retired, he came to the king's privy chamber and danced in a woman's petticoat to dispell the king's melancholly. But he knew well what the king's delights were; he choosed for his patron neither statesman nor prince; Barbara Villiers, first Mrs Palmer, then Dutchesse of Cleveland, was his choise; and before her bedside he would have kneeled ane hour at one time to implore her friendship with the king, because he knew well what influence his miss hade upon him, and with thir weapons he prevailed. Some expressions escaped Middleton which did him much hurt. Being one day in a company where they were all very mer-

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information how much it concerns my lord's interest and my ladie's securitie for her ladieship's joyntur to get this signatur past, and by interposing himself herein, how singularlie he will obleig them both, and mak them assert his interest in all faithfulnes.

"Yow ar, ante omnia, to secuir my Lord Lauderdaill's chief servant and secretarie, and what is depursed be you sall upon notice given hereof to me be presentlie repayed, and for which I have given you presentlie fyftien pund sterlin.

(Signed) "CAITHNES."

ry, one drew Middleton's sword, and asked him if he thought it possible ever that sword should be drawn against the king? Middleton said it was not; then the other asked him, What if a difference should happen betwixt the Duke of York and him? Middleton answered, he thought, if ever it were possible, it was possible in that case. But after they hade drolled a while, one in the company drew his sword, and swore he would have all the company swear nothing spoken at that time should be reported, (for he feared danger from Middleton's words); and after they hade all sworn secrecy, within ane hour these dangerous words were reported to the king to his great resentment. Another time, speaking disdainfully of his rival Lauderdale, he said, he would scorn to be pimp to any prince in Europe. This the king heard, and resented as much as Lauderdale himself. However, the king kept the issue of the conflict in his own breast till the next session of parliament drew nigh; and Middleton's friends in Scotland disputed his victory till he was even in the dust. At length, notwithstanding his gallantry in the field, his successe in the parliament, and the diligence of all his friends, the Duke and Hyde, and most of all the English bishops, his greatest patrons because of his activity to conform Scotland to their modell, he was constrained to leave the court and spend his time in back lanes among persons obscure and malecontents, till Rutherford's place, governour of Tangier, fell vacant; and thither the king sent him for his glorious reward of his establishing bishops in Scotland. There he lived some little time, in misery and contempt enough, till death caught him, when by a fall in his drunkenness he broke the bone of his arme, so that one part of it pierced not only the flesh of his arme, but his side and ribes, and so wounded his noble parts that he turned first stupid and then died: And such ane end hade this valiant unhappy man.

All this winter and spring the churches in the west and a great part of the south lay desolate, the people having no preaching in them, and in this time the poor people hade leisure enough to whet their zeal against the bishops and their followers. The first diocesian synod our bishops kept, (even of those who were not ejected by the proclamation at Glasgow) in some places they were very unfrequent; in some the bishop had not so many ministers present as he had presbytries in diocie, and in some synods none at all appeared. However, for that winter they were very bussie to leavy a crew of young curats, (as the country people called them, by a name rather odious than proper,) and these they fetched almost wholly out of the north countrey, where they found a sort of young lads, unstudied and unbred, who hade all the properties of Jeroboam's priests, most of them of two or three years standing, miserable in a world, and unable to subsist, which made them so much long for a stipend; and so profane and void of conscience themselves, that they believed there was none in any other, and that the humor of profession might be as easily dispelled by profite or losse as it hade been in themselves. So they went to their churches with the same intention and resolution a sheepherd contracts for herding a flock of cattell. A gentleman in the north cursed the presbyterian ministers, because (said he) since they left their churches wee cannot get a lad to keep our cows, they turn all ministers; and indeed that swarm spread not only over the south of Scotland, but England also, even to the Isle of Wight. Some old expectants there were, who, because of their scandal or insufficiency, could find no imployment under the presbyterians, were provided to churches in the first place. The patrons in many places, because they were to serve the bishops' design by their presentations, disdained to present, so the right devolved into the bishop's hand, and all the curats were

almost of the bishop's choosing. But in this they were to be excused, for no choice they hade, and the ordinary way of calling by elders and people was wholly laid aside. Yet a more grievous change was never made in a church. The curats came to the south and west of Scotland as the Moores came into Spain, or the Spainzards into America; it resembled the change upon King Saul's spirit, a bad spirit after a good. Some two years before, there was neither minister nor expectant but he professed and protested himself a covenanted presbyterian.

Now, when these men came to their churches, they came with ane inscription of perjury written upon their foreheads (where holiness to the Lord should have been,) besides the complaints attending their personal character, and their want of a call; no wonder then their welcome and entertainment were agreeable. Well, when they came about the end of the spring, in some places they were welcomed with tears and requests to be gone, and not to ruine the poor congregation and their own soul; in some places they were entertained with reasonings and disputes, in other places with threatnings and curses, and in others with strange affronts and indignities; some stole the bell tongue, that the people's absence from sermon might be excuseable; some barricadoed the door, to oblidge the curat to enter by the window literally. A shepherd boy, finding in the field a nest of pismires, fills a box with them; this he empties in the curat's boot-heads as he is going to pulpit; the poor man began his exercise, but was quickly oblidged to interrupt, the miserable insects gave him so much pain and disturbance. Two curats being at a drinking meeting with some of the gentlemen in the countrey where they lived, and their wives being with them, sitt up too late; their wives find it necessary to goe to bed in the next room: and so they did, every woman laying her cloaths at her own bedside. But the curats will not quite their drinking company till the gentlemen were weary; so some of them goes into the roome

where the two poor women were sound sleeping, and shifts their cloaths, laying one woman's cloaths at the other woman's bedside, and so to her again. The curats at length come late to bed, and guesse their wives bed by their neighbour's cloaths; so for that night the curats exchanged wives, upon which the gentlemen next morning took witness, to the poor men's great confusion. How the Laird of Arkland used a drunken curat (his bedfellow) for a night, was a common story in that countrey, but I am ashamed to write it.* In many places where the curats entered, the people mett together in multitudes, and not only opposed their establishment but stoned them: yea, even when they returned with armed force, the people sometimes not only opposed the curat's entrance, but chased the king's souldiers: For all which the state made a severe inquiry for the greater part. The first transgressors of this kind were (as I remember) the poor people of Irongray, where Mr John Welch had been pastor; where, because the curat could not have peaceable possession, he brought alongst with him a party of the king's guard, where he was not only opposed, but his party beaten with stones; no man durst appear in such a bussiness, nor any woman of fashion, only the poorest women of the paroch gathered, and one Margaret Smith for their leader, who was next day brought before our lords, and banished to Barbadoes; but she told her tale so innocently, that our lords were ashamed to execute it.†

* Captain John Creichton gives the following anecdote of a drunken whig preacher: —"One of those eight fanatic teachers, who were permitted, at the Restoration, to keep their livings, came to Sir John Carmichael's house, within a mile of Lanerick, where I was then upon a visit to Sir John. We drank hard till it was late, and all the company retired, except Sir John and myself. The teacher would needs give us prayers, but fell asleep before he had half done; whereupon Sir John and I, setting a bottle and glass at his nose, left him upon his knees. The poor man sneaked off early the next morning, being, in all appearance, ashamed of his hypocrisy."

† "A party, with some messengers, was sent with a curate to intimate that another

The next offenders were in Kirkcudbright, where some ten women were first incarcerate in Edinburgh, and thereafter sett with papers on their heads: but these were followed by, I believe, a hundered congregations, up and down the countrey, tho' the punishment became banishment to America, cruel whipping, and heavy fynes. These extravagant practices of the rabble were no way approven by the godly and judicious presbyterians; yea, they were ordinarly the actions of the profane and ignorant; but I think they were enough to demonstrate to the world what respect or affection the curats should find among their congregations. I have known some profane people, if they hade committed ane error at night, thought affronting a curat to-morrow a testimony of their repentance.

All that winter and spring people in the west and south found their churches desolate, and so were constrained to wander for lack of bread, sometimes to the churches where the old forlorn presbyterian ministers continued their ministry, sometimes to share of the family exercises of the younger ministers, who were outted but sojourned among them; and sometimes the multitude that came to partake of the family exercises increased so, that the minister was constrained to preach without, and at length to goe to the open fields, which was the cause and original of field meetings in Scot-

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curate was to enter that kirk for their ordinar. Some women of the parish hearing thereof before, placed themselves in the kirk-yard, and furnished themselves with their ordinary weapons of stones, whereof they gathered store, and thus, when the messengers and party of rascalls with swords and pistolls came, the women so maintained their ground, defending themselves under the kirk dyke, that, after a hot skirmish, the curate, messengers, and party without, not presuming to enter, did at length take themselves to retreat with the honourable blae marks they had got at that conflict. Many such affronts did these prelates curates meet with in their essayes to enter kirks after that manner, especially by women, which was a testimony of general dislike and aversion to submit to them as their ministers."—*Memoirs of the Rev Mr* JOHN BLACKADDER, *written by himself, MS.*

land, which made so great a noise. The first who begune to preach in the fields were Mr John Welsh and Mr Gabriel Semple, and were indeed, because of their painfullness and boldness, in no small respect among the common people; but partly because of the deep disdain the people bore to the curats, partly because of their scandals and insufficiency, and partly because of the admonitions some of the ministers gave the people to be constant in the good old way of the church of Scotland, and to beware of false teachers coming among them, very many of the people refused to hear the curats after they were settled in their pulpits. And the first fruit of their ministry was scattering of the flocks. And now sprung up the lamentable question of hearing the perjured curats; and though very many agreed in the conclusion of forbearing to hear, yet great was the difference in the reasons for which people did forbear; for some forbare because they believed their ministers to be null and altogether illegal, either because the bishops were illegal and null in law, or because they hade fallen from their office by the transgression of their clamorous perjury. Some refused to hear, because they believed they hade no call to such a particular congregation, and that forbearing to hear was a proper testimony against their intrusion. Some would not hear, because they thought them so profane that they were not for ane honest man's company, much lesse to be acknowledged ministers. And some forbare to hear them, to shun the offence of poor honest people. However, the first fruite of the scruple was empty churches, and thereafter persecution, till many were compelled to doe that against their profession which they declared was altogether against their conscience; but this was a lasting tentation to poor Scotland.*

* "Now, ye in this country side, ere it be long ye will all be charged to go and hear these cursed curates; and when ye are charged to go there, look the fifth of the Gal. v. 19, 20. I say, look to that Scripture well, and think with yourselves that day, poor

Now the diet of the parliament's meeting drew near, and a commissioner must therefore be provided. Lauderdale had carried the victory in the conflict betwixt him and Middleton; so Middleton cannot be the man. It was at Lauderdale's dispossall, and he pitched upon Rothes, a young man, none of Middleton's cabal, a favorite of the king's, and a man Lauderdale thought well he might manadge. So Rothes is chosen commissioner for this session of parliament, and this was the beginning of his promotions. He is now made commissioner, next he is made high theasurer, then keeper of the sealls, and then chancellor and high commissioner in the interval of parliaments, and he was the first that ever served in that office; last of all he died duke.* Alwayes, tho' Lauderdale had chosen him, he

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lads and lasses in this country side, that such a fool as I have told you it, that going to hear these profane hirelings would take you to hell as soon as idolatry, adulteries, witchcraft, or any of these sins which is named in that place I have cited to you. And now, people of God, what are ye doing? the pope and papists at Rome is rejoicing and burning bonefires. They are rejoicing that Britain and Ireland are coming home again to their antient mother church, as they call themselves. What are ye doing, O people of God! O for such a party as Esther and her maidens!"—*Sermon preached by* PEDEN, *at Glenluce.*

* The Earl of Rothes, afterwards duke, was the son of a reforming father, whose moral practice kept no measure with his religious theory. King Charles the First had at one time some hopes of gaining him to his cause by the marriage of the rich Countess of Devonshire. BURNET.—But this affair came to an unhappy conclusion, and Rothes continued a covenanter. He died at Richmond of an infamous disorder, under the care of his aunt, Lady Roxborough, August 1641, (ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S *History of his own Troubles and Trials,*) and left his son an infant. This young earl seems to have inherited his father's turn for gallantry, though he escaped his disloyalty and fanaticism. "1658, Januar 3.—Being the Sabbath, the Earle of Rothes being at Edenboroughe, he was taken by the governour, and carried to the Castle of Edenboroughe, by a particular order sent downe by his highnes. About the same time the Viscount of Howard was commanded to stay at Berwicke, by his highnes also, for the report went that Howard was jealous of his lady, and therefore was coming down to Scotland to pistoll Rothes, because he had beine too familiar with her (as was supposed) when she came

thinks it not fitt to send him alone, lest perchance he might some way decline from his orders; so he came down himself to tutor his pupil; and partly for a favour, partly for a revenge, with him he brought a full remission to Archibald Campbell, dischargeing his forfaulture past in the preceeding session of parliament, and so he became Earle of Argyle, which utterly ruined the hopes which Middleton had nourished of becoming himself Duke of Argyle. And now comes the 18th of June 1663, and then the parliament conveen with their new commissioner; and the first thing they doe (because they heard of the peoples refuseing to hear the curats) they frame ane act, by which they provide, first, that all ministers who

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downe to this countrey with her sister-in-law, the Lady Balgonie. This was noised abroad to be the cause of both their restraints. In April, 1658, Rothes was sequestrat. Dec. 1, 1658, he obtained libertie to returne to Leslie, by General Monck's moying, (cautioners for his good behaviour were the Earle of Weyms, the Lord Balgonie, and Dury.") LAMONT'S *Diary, p.* 130. *See also* BAILLIE'S *Letters and Journals.*—The following extract, which regards Rothes when chancellor of Scotland, is taken from Lord Fountainhall's MS. Decisions:—" 25th June, 1672. Umquhile Sir Robert Seaton of Windygoule, having made ane excambion with his brother the Earl of Wintoun, whereby in lieu of his lands he got a heritable right in my Lord Dumfries his lands, to which soumes Garleton, as air, laying claime, compierance was made for Sir Robert's sisters, who alledged the soumes behoved to belong to them, who would be his executors in law, because made moveable by Sir Robert in his life tyme, in so far as he required them, and charged the debtors with horning, *quo facto animum declaravit.* Against which it was alledged that the same aught to be repelled, in regard they offered them to prove that it was never his intention to transmit this soume to his executors by the said charge, seeing *esto* he had got it, he was frequently hear say, his sister should never have a penny of his means: yea, they themselves in their ordinar discourse boast that good providence hath thrown that in their lap, which their brother never designed for them. Notwithstanding of all which pregnant qualifications, they found the sum, as moveable, to belong to the sisters, who were executors. This was judged hard: only Garleton had the misfortune to be generally ill loved, and the ladies *found favour with my lord chancelor, who is ane enemy to none of that sex, if they be handsome.*"

refuse to joyn with bishops in their ecclesiastick meetings, called the diocessian meetings, or in any other act of church discipline, shall for the first fault be suspended by the bishop and for the next deprived, (here the act of parliament is the ecclesiastick canon to direct the holy bishops) and thereafter removed from their houses. Next they provide that every nobleman or heritor who shall absent himself from his curat's church on the Sabbath day, ordinarly or willfully, shall lose a fourth part of that year's rent in which they are accused; each yeoman or farmer the fourth part of his moueables; and each burgesse shall lose the same, together with their freedom in the town where they dwell. This act was the bishops dragg-net, and therefore frequently altered, helped, and confirmed; but it cost the people of Scotland more money then any act ever made in Scotland since King Fergus, his dayes. It is to be observed, this act makes popish withdrawers censurable as well as protestants; but this clause was afterward expunged in Lauderdale's parliament, and honest papists left to their freedome to come or stay as they pleased; only the poor whig is to smart for his separating, as indeed he did; but wee were then upon our modest beginnings of defection. The next act was a repetition of the first act of the preceding session of parliament, requiring all persons in publick office to subscribe the declaration, only it adds a day, viz. the ijth of November following, betwixt and which they were to subscribe this declaration in presence of their respective courts. This act made no great change among our great officers, only John Earle of Crawford by it losed the office of theasurer, and Sir James Dundass of Arnistoun alone, among all the Lords of the Session; and more I remember not. Their third act constitutes a national synod, appointing it to consist of bishops, dignitarys, and one minister, to be chosen by the plurality of every presbytrie, and one or two from the universities a-piece, who, together with his majesties commissioner, are to treat only of such particulars as shall be referred to

the Archbishop of St Andrews, president of the synod, to be by him communicate to this synod, and determined by plurality of the members of the said synod; where I observe, contrary to the foundamentals of episcopal government, which lodgeth the power of jurisdiction in the hands of the bishops alone, the meanest presbyter is allowed equal authority with the metropolitan himself, wholly contrare to the constitution of their diocesan meeting, where the presbyters hade only a consultative vote, and no more; but let them agree about this, for such ane assembly as this Scotland never saw. The fourth considerable act was a tender of 20,000 footmen and 2000 horsmen, with fourty dayes provision, to serve his majestie when and wheresoever he will, in any place of his majesties dominions. Other civil or inconsiderable acts I omit, they are to be found in print; and, for a conclusion, they reverse the famous Act of Billeting, which was Lauderdale's triumph and Middleton's dishonour, and so conclude.* But because the walls of Babylon have

* This scheme of billetting was so extremely resented by Lauderdale, that he was displeased with Primrose, the clerk register, for afterwards inserting the mere titles of the acts, in the printed Book of Acts of the Scottish Parliament. His letter on the subject is extracted from Primrose's Correspondence.

FOR MY LORD REGISTER AT EDINBURGH.

My Lord, *Whitehall, 6th Feby.* 166⅘.

" Yesternight I received the express pacquet with the acts of parliament. That same night I waited on my Lord Rothess to the king, and was witness to the delivery of the book you sent to his majesty, where I received the command for the inclosed letter. I thank you for my copy; yet I must complain of you to yourself, but it shall only be to yourself, for I hope it is but the printer's fault. You know the act against billetting commands these two acts to be razed and expunged out of the record, and yet your printer, to perpetuate their memory, hath fairly printed the title of them both among the titles of the unprinted acts of the second session of parliament. This is an

blood for their morter, dureing this session of parliament, the innocent and godly Lord Waristone must be made a sacrifice to the king's personal malice. This gentleman was cruelly hunted after the king's return, and after he hade escapt very narrowly a great many dangers, with much adoe got beyond seas in the disguise of a merchant, and after that lurked two years, sometimes in the Low Countries, and sometimes in Germany, mostly at Hamburg; at length he fled most unadvisedly to France, and was taken at Rowan, even while he was at prayer. And a very little while after he came to the house, our king hade some notice of it, I know not how, but he called before him a poor Englishman, one Major Johnson, whom he severely threatened with hanging, till he discovered what he knew, after he hade been a while in prison. As soon as ever he got home he fell into that grief that he never more saw the sun, but pined away till he died. The king sent over one crooked Alexander Murray to take him, and that he did most dextruously; a fitt instrument he was for such ane employment, living and dieing a profest atheist. But after Wariston was in prison in France, when it came to be disputed whether the French king

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injury to the persons who are billetted, and a greater injury to your lordship, for there you print the title of two dead damned things, of which I am sure you can give no extract, unless a new parliament receive them. Had another than you put his hand to such a list of unprinted acts, I would have made noise on it; but I am sure you did not do it out of an ill design, and therefor I hope you will dash these two lines out of all the copies, or if that be not possible, something must be printed to clear the mistakes, or the act itself against billetting printed and added to every copy, (for in the list of the unprinted acts of the 3d session, the title of it is much barer then the title of the other two pretended acts which it rescinds and damns,) of this I pray you let me have an answer as soon as you can, and how this shall be mended, for sure it shall not stand thus. I am your lordship's affectionat servant,

"LAUDERDALE."

should retain him or give him up, his council were for retaining him; but the king (who was appointed for a persecutor) would give him up; so to the Tower of London he was brought about February, and thence to Edinburgh, to be sacrificed about the beginning of June. And the pity was, he was not then his own man, for, partly through excessive blood-letting, (and other detestable means used by his wicked physician, Doctor Bates, who they say was hired either to poison or distract him) and partly through melancholy, (being a man of weak passions) he hade in a manner wholly lost his memory, and weakened his judgement;* which consideration, together with the respect all sober men bare to him, inclined the most part of the parliament to have spared his life. So that when the question was stated in parliament, Whether he should presently be execute, and a day fixed for that effect? these who voted first were for a delay, which Lauderdale perceiving, (knowing well he needed never return to court if Wariston were spared) was forced, contrare to order, in the midst of the vote, to make a threatning harrangue for his blood; upon which the vote passed for death, and 22d of Jully appointed to be the day. Some of the bishops' creatures would have hade the 23d of Jully, because that was the day on which opposition to bishops, in the year 1637, was first made; and they would have hade punishment on Wariston, expiating the sin of the people of Edinburgh, but it was carried in the contrare. His sentence was to

* His mental imbecility seems to have been occasioned in some measure by fear. Lord Middleton writes thus to Primrose: "Mr Secretary Bennett, my Lord Dumfries, and myself, were taken up this whole day with examination of Warriston and some others. He pretends to have lost his memory, and so will give no account of any thing. He is the most timorous person that ever I did see in my life, and pretends he can do the king great service if he will give him his life, in putting the registers in good order, and settling the king's prerogative from old records. London, Feb. 3d, 1663."—WODROW *MSS.*

be hanged to death at Edinburgh Cross, and his head fixt on the Netherbow Port, beside his dear friend Mr James Guthrie's head, which was accordingly done; but, after some years, his head was buried with his body in the church-yard, by the favour and procurement of Lieutenant-General Drummond, Wariston's son-in-law. I spake with him in prison, and though he was sometimes under great heaviness, yet he told me he could never doubt his own salvation, he hade so often seen God's face in the house of prayer.*

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* Among the MSS. in the Advocates' Library, are a few scanty extracts from Wariston's Journal of his Soul Exercises, &c., which contain nothing historically interesting. In the year 1650, he notes, "I got liberty before supper, but especially in the grace after supper, *for an hour*, with sweet overflowing gushes of tears, and great groans, access of soul unto the Lord's bosom for me and my seed. It pleased the Lord to bear in upon my spirit, that the Lord moving me to commit my seed to him, before my children's sickness, hath been one mean, in his mercy, to preserve them from death, whereof five of them this last week was in danger by the pox."—These pious Journals were long commonly kept by the presbyterians, of which some have been printed, as that of Frazer of Brae, and of Elizabeth West. I have before me one in MS. contained in a sort of pocket-book, which seems to have belonged to the Laird of Pollock. As a specimen of the method of recording spiritual tribulation, comfort, providences, &c. the following passages are subjoined:—

Mearns, 2d Sept. 1655.

Matter of sad humiliation. Ther being before the congregations for such gross sins, one adulteress, one quadrilapse fornicatrix, 3 trilapse fornicatrix.

Close of the Weeke, Oct. 1655.

Praise. Much tentation prevented. Some lusts restrained. Himself commended. Knowledge communicated.

Providences. J. D. Enemies made to bow before me.

Sins. Passion. Carnall laughter.

Experiences. Passion when boiling restrained by prayer.

When his day came, notwithstanding all the weakness of his spirit, he went to the scaffold composed and courageous; thereafter he read his speech, (which is in print) wherein he speaks his heart concerning both his frame, his sins, and infirmities, his exercise and hope; and so rendered up his spirit into the Lord's hand with much comfort of mind, and much bemoaned by all that knew him. A man he was, godly, learned, eloquent, and very zealous for the publick

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Duties. Touching Mearnes. Keeping the expres. Suites depending. 1. Difficultie of self examination. 2. Confusion and indistinctness of my state with God, or his outgoings towards my spirit. 3. Misbeleife. 4. To remarke the issue of all the dependant prayers.

Glanderston, Thursday, 27th Sept. 1655, *mane.*

In prayer with my wyffe. The woefullest wandering and roaving in mynd that I have seene.

Oct. 1655.

Remarkable providence. Rideing through the water deepe at mine own house on my wyffe's stumbling horse, being safe through the water he stumbled, and the bridle broke, which if it had so fallen out in the water, my danger had been verie certaine.

Pollock, Friday, 19*th Oct.* 1655, *Vesper.*

Seene a sad roll of abominations in the parish of Mearnes, for which I am deeply to be humbled before the Lord.

Close of the Weeke.

There be so many sins as I cannot draw them up in a roll.

cause of religion, in which he spent most of his time. He spent more time in prayer, reading, meditation, and observing his providences, than any man ever I knew in the world. He was a great observer of providences, and, according to the rule, mett with very many remarkable providences himself. All flesh is grass; one blemish in his life the world censured, and he lamented to his dying day; and that was, that when the English settled first in Scotland and began to employ Scotsmen in offices under them, he was so striet for the king's interest, forsooth, that, as he was a man very resolute, he spoke and wrote much against it; and yet afterward, in the year 1657, when he went to London upon a publict account, he entered to his old office of clerk-register, under Cromwell; after which he was alwayes afflicted and sad, never prosperous, because he hade made himself a trespasser. The real cause of his death was not his activity in publick business, but our king's personal hatred, because when the king was in Scotland, he thought it his duty to admonish him because of his very wicked debauched life, not only in whoreing and adultery, but he violently forced a young gentlewoman of quality; this the king could never forgive, and told the Earle of Bristol so much when he was speaking for Wariston.* But he studied Christ's honour more than man's, and was a man that used argument more then complement; he wrote almost all that he did or happened him. I have read in his dairy, 22d August, 1662, that

* Charles's licentious conduct while in Scotland seems to have been greatly exaggerated by his enemies. Sharp, in his correspondence with Douglas after the Restoration, writes from London, that he found many persons there possessed with the belief that the king when with them had violated all terms and engagements, "and was vicious, and unclean, and a scorner of ordinances, and a discountenancer of ministers." But that he had set himself to detect these "lies and malicious forgeries, declaring he could not say the king broke with them, and that the honest party were well satisfied with him."

tho', because of selfish mixtures in instruments, our deliverance might be retarded, yet he doubted not God would visit Scotland with a mercifull reformation, which at length came to pass. He left his lady and numerous family in mean estate, tho' afterward the Lord provided better for many of them than if their father hade stood in his highest grandeur.*

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* Sir Archibald Johnston's character is set in a very favourable light by Burnet, his nephew, who had somewhat of his own pliability in politics. But it is remarkable that the bishop says nothing of the affair of Bates, which is rendered very improbable both by Warriston's insignificance, and the temper of King Charles. Warriston himself declared, in his last speech, that he had got *bad physic*. "The nearer he was to his death, he was the more quieted in his mind, which had been discomposed by poison and the drawing of threescore ounces of blood, the physicians intending hereby to distract him, or make him an ideot fool. The night before his death he sleeped very sweetly, and in the morning was very full of comfort, uttering many sweet expressions as to his assurance of being cloathed with a long white robe before night.—His precious head was taken off at one stroke, which was afterwards set upon the Netherbow Port, where it standeth by the blessed head of that precious and cleanly martyr, and slain yet witnessing witness of our Lord Jesus Christ, Mr James Guthrie. His memory, after the letting of his blood, and giving him the poison, was so much wasted that he knew not whether he was an Englishman or Scotsman, Frenchman or Dutchman, nor whether Genesis or Revelation did begin the Bible, nor whether he had or wanted wife or children," &c.—Vide *The last Discourse of the Right Hon. the Lord Waristoune, as he delivered it upon the Scaffold at the Mercat-cross of Edinburgh, July* 22, 1663, *being immediately before his Death. Whereunto is added, A short Narration of his Carriage during the Time of his Imprisonment, but more especially at his Death: All which is very comfortable and refreshing to all those that take Pleasure in the Dust of Zion, and favour the Stones of our Lord's broken down Building amongst us. By a Favourer of the Covenant, and Work of Reformation*, 4to. 1664.

Warriston, after having declaimed and written against those who accepted of offices under Cromwell, repaired to London in the year 1657, and went heartily into all the measures of the usurper. This backsliding neither he nor his friends could ever contrive to palliate. Wodrow indeed observes, that "he fell before the temptation *that*

Several old ministers were at this time called for, because of their authority or freedom they used in their sermons. But the bishops

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all flesh, even the best, may appear to be grass. The following poem, composed on his apostacy, is printed from a MS.

"What, Warriston, and must thy zealous knees
Bow to Baal, has Shimei gone to Gath,
And shall not die for't?—he that prophesies
Death to complyers, should he tred their path!
Is't Hushai's part yow act, mind to defeat
Their plots against the Lord's anointed? nay,
It's Naboth's vineyard, which, with your estate,
Yow must entaill to your posteritie.
Wast height of honour, or the breadth of lands,
That thee did separate from the love of God?
Or wast usurping traitors base commands
That made thy wayes, which seem'd once even, now odd?
Or wast God's slighted cause for to advance,
And with thy horn of pow'r, fiercely to push
That wild beast Heresie, and truth inhaunce?
Alas, my lord, a serpent's in the bush.
Will you eat flesh, whereby your brothers stumbled,
With purpose to defeat this weaknesse, must
The cause of God and people both be jumbled
With thy fair-foul intents, O judge unjust?
If Ziba robb'd his master by a lie,
And Gain with Guile the type, may not thou then
With tygers, foxes, cats, and wolves goe prey,
With beasts of Ephesus, and call them men?—
Gainst such blasphemous beasts Paul did make war
But neer comply'd—Sir, why doe yow oppose
The apostle's practice? ah, I'm fear'd yow are
The gospell's, 'I goe, sir'—but never goes.
This is the product of your purgatives,
Wherewith our armie was spent to the half,

neither likeing to have a presbyterian minister a neighbour to his own paroch, nor yet neighbour to themselves, moved the secret councill, upon Aug. 13th, to emitt a proclamation, wherein they command all outted ministers, under the pains of sedition, (that is death) to remove themselves and families 20 miles from the bounds of their own paroches, six miles from every cathedral, and three miles from every burgh royal. This was the fourth proclamation punishing the presbyterian ministers, and was by many judged unjust in itself; for God himself doth not punish one offence twice, and the presbyterians hade been punished thrice before upon the account of their nonconformity, and were guilty of no new crime. It was thought strange that the episcopal party, who ordinarly call the government of the church a point indifferent, should violent men at such a rate to that which is unnecessary. The presbyterians were only guilty of one omission, which ignorance might excuse at the hand of a charitable man. Lastly, it was impossible to obey this proclamation, for as much as no geographer in Scotland can find accommodation for 350 ministers, one only in one paroch, (for so the proclamation provided) and keep all the distances required in that proclamation; so many wearied to remove their poor families the third

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By flaming zeal in purposed fugitives,
So flames melt Israel's jewells in a calfe!
Goe, Shimei, goe to Gilgall to the king,
Put off the remonstrator of a knave,
Or wee, who preach'd thee to thy power, shall sing
And tune thy triumphs to thy epitaph."

Madam Aphra Behn has introduced Lord Wariston as one of her characters in the comedy of the Roundheads, or Good Old Cause, a play well worthy of perusal from the extraordinary picture of manners which it contains.

time in one year, tho' some were at the pains to doe it. After the parliament hade done their work, upon the 9th of October they dissolved. The commissioner and all the estates rode from the palace of Halyrude-house to the Parliament-house, in triumph and grandeur; and among the rest, the loathsome Archbishop Fairfoull finished his stinking office of bishop: He began it with stink, for he broke wind as he bowed to the altar when he was to be consecrate, and two dayes before this glorious day he hade taken physick, (as the report was) which fell a-working upon him as he was riding up the way, that the bearer of his train, when he allighted from his horse, was almost choakt; no man could sitt near him in the Parliament-house; so he was forced to rise and goe home a footman as he came a horseman, and so he made but the half of this miserable triumph, and after he was got home, he never came abroad; and because he would never believe the physician, who assured him death was at hand, he died by surprisal and undesired, perishing like his own dung.* He was so greedy he never reapt the profit of his benefice; for because he refused a reasonable composition to enter his vassals, therefore in his short time he hade very little, and left the profits to his successor. His poor children were vagabonds

* "*Nov. 2.* Archbishop Fairfowl died in his lodgings in Edinburgh upon the 11th instant; his corpse was carried to St Giles's East Church, now the New Church, in Edinburgh, and laid in mourning before the pulpit. The bells rang for the funeral sermon at four in the afternoon. Mr John Hay, parson of Peebles, now Archdean of Glasgow, preached from Eccles. xii. 5. When sermon was over, the corpse was put into a mourning coach, and carried to Holyrood-house, with the nobility and principal gentry in town, the magistrates, the lords of session, in coaches, and the rest on foot, with trumpets sounding, and two heralds, and two pursevants, with coats displayed before the corpse, with great numbers of torches; the chancellor with his purse after the corpse, and the Archbishop of St Andrews and other bishops in coaches; and the body was interred in the east end of the Abbey Church."—Wodrow.

and runagate, turning popish for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread; and such was the end of his tragedy, and the confusion of this most lamentable parliament, leaving the church in sad confusion and distraction, instead of beautifull reformation; the poor countrey in sad apprehensions of miseries at hand, which every man of sense foresaw; and a sharp sting in the conscience of many of the members, as afterward they discovered to the world.

LIB. VI.

THE BISHOPS AND THEIR HIGH COMMISSION.

Now the great machine of episcopacy is perfected, established, confirmed, and fortified. The king expects by it his prerogative would be heightened, his power amplified, his pleasures secured. Contrary wayes it will be found it was a reed of Egypt, it pierced his hand, was a burdine upon his authority, a vexation to his spirit, and, last of all, dethroned him in the hearts of the people of Scotland. After this, the history of Scotland is made up of the absurdities and wickedness of the clergy, the opposition of a grieved oppressed people, and the cruel severities of a persecuting power. Iff you ask what sort of men they were, I cannot but say, tho' they were very bad, yet the countrey made them large as wicked as they were; and the reason was, because the body of them was certainly so debauched a company, common people would not believe ane honest man would continue in their company. Certainly the man that writes the truth of them shall be in hazard to be distrusted, the truth looks so very like hatred; but it is the honesty of a historian to write the naked truth, whatever his censure may be; he who wrote the history of King Saul, or Ahaz, or Manasseh, or Jeroboam, would in our days have certainly been called a partial man; but he who writes the truth of the wicked, must say more than amounts to indifferency: Alwayes some taste of their disposition I shall give, with protestation that no man believe it is the hundered part of the

truth. You shall have then ane example of the scandals of these who were sett to be examples to the flocks of poor Scotland: First, for swearing, it was so common I need to say nothing. I take the Lord to witness, I've heard the curats upon Edinburgh streets swear as fast as ever I heard a debaucht red-coat. I heard once one of them in pulpit maintain, that to swear by faith and conscience, and such like, was ane innocent form of speech; and cited for his author the renowned Bishop Andrews.* Of drunkenness I need not accuse them; no man will deny they wallowed in our gutters drunk in their canonical gowns. Bishop Wishart preached in Edinburgh pulpit, that he was not to be called a drunkard who was now and then overtaken with wine, but he who made a trade of following after strong drink daily. And Samuel Colvill, in his Whigge, will tell you of their drinking healths to ports and bridges, ane expression so abominable, it is not to be interpreted by a grave person.† Come to more gross scandals, I have not heard of a more

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* "How comes it that there is so little knowledge of God in this land?—because of swearing, lying, stealing, and committing adultery. I wonder if there be any such sinners here this day!—I will tell you that there are enow of you in the west country that scruple not to swear by faith and troth. We have but little to do with such professors. It is a very sad thing, that though we reprove you, we cannot get you to leave off your minced oaths, haith and faith," &c.—*Sermon by the Rev.* RICHARD CAMERON.

† "We cannot help it for our life,
Sir, who can rule a lawless wife?
Though they cause whip them through the town,
Though they them hang, though they them drown,
Seeing priests drunk at third bell ringing,
They'l up with stones, and fall a flinging—
If once these preachers mend their lives,
There will be no stone-throwing wives;

profligate whoremaster in Scotland then Bruce, curat (as I believe) of Balmerinno, and Bishop Sharp's chaplane; I dare not be particular upon the violence he used upon some, because they were of that quality that requires forebearance; a terror he was to the poor countrey lasses, because they heard of the violence he used upon some of them, even by the highway side. Another instance I shall give, among many: Mr John Chisholme, of Lilieslease, kept a serving-woman, whom he made his whore for a long time; at length the poor woman told him she could conceal their wickedness no longer; the curat entreated her to keep quiet, alledging to her the practise of Joseph toward the Virgin Mary upon his mistaken supposition, and that it was righteousness to conceal his sin: But all this hindered her not one day at a great field-meeting on Longnewton Moore,

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Forbid them scandalize the liedges,
By drinking healths to ports and bridges," &c.
SAMUEL COLVILL'S *Whig's Supplication*, 1681.

Colvill (whose verses were long circulated in MS. previous to publication, and sold, I believe, for the benefit of the author,) was the third son of the pious Lady Culross, authoress of The Dream—a degenerate child of a godly parent; whom he held in so little reverence, that in the preface of his Whig's Supplication, he quotes the following lines, composed on himself, which allude to the poetic effusions of his mother:—

"Samuel Colvill's gone to France,
Where he hath learnt to sing and dance,
And play upon a fiddle;
He is a man of great esteem,
His mother gat him in a dream,
At Culross, on a girdle."

It is to be noted, that Culross was long celebrated for its manufacture of girdles, that is, circular plates of cast-iron, for toasting cakes over the fire.

when Mr George Johnston was preaching, to proclame the whole story befor thousands; for which, all the punishment inflicted on the curat was, the poor woman was cast, and kept in prison many a day, and sore threatned to recall her confession, which she would never doe; but he believed her unjust sufferings would be his vindication. I believe there be not many in Edinburgh but they know well how Mr John Paterson, when he was a regent in St Andrews, was constrained to marry a poor young girle upon whom he hade committed a violent rape, and that was lest he should have losed his office; also how kind a husband he proved, and that he once offered her a knife to kill herself, when she was complaining he gazed too much upon a gentlewoman's picture which hang in his chamber, and over whom his poor wife was jealous. The story of his amours with Dutch Ann Murray were no secret. That gentlewoman complained to William Earle of Lothian how she was continually tormented with his wicked solicitations, and that his complement was to kneel upon his knees and repeat the words, Isaiah xxvi, 9, "with my soul have I desired thee in the night;" for which the nobleman desired her to keep a ponyard to defend her chastity.* The account

* About this time it is certain that one lady at least carried a similar weapon of defence, though probably not to protect her chastity. "*August* 26, 1679. This day did Christian Hamilton, wife to A. Nimmo, merchant, kill James Lord Forrester with his own sword, in his garden at Corstorphin. She confessed the fact, and pretended she was provoked thereto, because he in his drink had abused her and called her w—e. Being apprehended and imprisoned, the sheriffs of Edinburgh gave her an indictment to the 28th of August, when she made a long discourse of the circumstances and manner of it, seeking to palliate and extenuate it, yet subscribed her confession of the fact; and for putting it beyond all cavillation, they also adduced three witnesses, two men and her woman, who saw it: but she having pretended she was with child, the sheriff and his deputes directed a commission, recommending to Doctors Stevenson and Balfour, &c. to visit her, and report; who having done so, they declared that after trial

of the infamous history of his abominable snuff-box, carved with some of the most ugly of Aretin pictures and postures, is in print; and lest he should deny it, a gentleman in Fyfe keeps his letter,

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they could perceive no signs of her being with child. However, if the pannel had been with child, she did not deny but it was to Lord Forrester, which was both adultery (she being married and not divorced) and incest, she being my lord's first lady's niece, and sister's daughter; so that the visible judgement of God may be read both upon her and him. Her affirming herself to be with child was but a shift to procure a delay. On 19th September Christian Hamilton gave in a bill to the lords of privy council, representing that the sheriffs gave her no time to provide herself with advocates, so that she had omitted her defences, and begged the council would examine her witnesses, and take trial of the manner of the commission of the slaughter, viz. that he was then drunk, in which condition he commonly was very furious; that she was exceedingly provoked; that he run at her with his sword; that she took it from him to preserve herself from hazard; and that he ran upon the sword's point, and thereby gave himself the mortal wounds whereof he died, and so killed himself; and she stood only upon her lawful defence. This relation was known to be false, and therefore the lords of the privy council did now little regard it, tho' it was relevant in itself. She was a woman of a godless life, and *ordinarily carried a sword beneath her petticoats.* On the 29th of September she made her escape out of the Tolbooth, in men's apparel, in the glooming, about 5 o'clock at night, but was the next day found at Fala-Mill, where she had staid, and did not hasten to the English Borders, and was brought back to the Tolbooth on the 1st of October, and was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh the 12th Nov. She was all in mourning, with a large wail, and before the laying down of her head, she laid it off, and put on a whyte taffetie hood, and bared her shoulders with her own hands, with seeming courage eneugh." FOUNTAINHALL's *Decisions, MS.*— His lordship adds, " Mrs Bedford, who murdered her husband, and committed adultery with Geilles Tyre, was this Mistris Nimmo's cusing germane, and of the family of Grange. And they say that the Ladie Warriston, who about 100 years ago strangled her husband Kincaid of Warriston, she was of the same family."

It is remarkable that Lord Forrester was one of the presbyterian zealots of the times, and had erected a meeting-house near Edinburgh, after the indulgence granted in the year 1679. It was also reported, that a dispensation from the pope to marry the wo-

wherein he owns it, and this he shews to many a man. He hade a pair of band-strings from a gentlewoman great in his favour, which every day when he entered the pulpit he kissed before he spoke; this was seen by many, and is in print by one of his own way. He hath been deprehended in stairs and back rooms with base queens; yet this is a man sanctified to be a Scottish archbishop.* One of his

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man who murdered him, was found in his closet after his death, and that his delay in using this was the occasion of her fury. *Popery and Schism equally dangerous in the Church of England, p.* 39.—The inhabitants of the village of Corstorphine still relate some circumstances of the murder, not recorded by Fountainhall. Mrs Nimmo, attended by her maid, had gone from Edinburgh to the Castle of Corstorphine in search of Lord Forrester, but not finding him at home, she sent for him from the ale-house in the village, where he had been drinking all the morning. After a violent altercation, she stabbed him repeatedly with his own sword. He fell under a tree near the Pigeon-house, both of which still remain, and died immediately. The lady took refuge in the garret of the castle, but was discovered by one of her slippers, which dropt through a crevice of the floor. It need scarcely be added, that till lately the inhabitants of the village were greatly annoyed, of a moonlight night, with the apparition of a woman, clothed all in white, with a bloody sword in her hand, wandering and wailing round the pigeon-house and the tree, which stand very inconveniently within sight of the cottage gardens.

* All these scandals, and many more respecting Paterson and the episcopal clergy, are detailed at great length in an answer to the Pamphlet called Presbyterian Eloquence. The author relates the story of the two drunken curates told by Kirkton above, but with many variations. Their names, according to him, were Mr George Young, curate of Kirkmaiden, and Mr James Adamson, of Stony Kirk. He says that Sir John Urquhart of Cromarty's suicide was occasioned by his chaplain, who defended the crime; which is not extremely probable. As to the reports concerning Paterson, however, they are alluded to in many other pasquils of that time; and the following extract from Lord Fountainhall's MSS., sets the bishop's conduct, as a reformer of the church, in no very favourable point of view. "Mr John M'Queen, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in Dec. 1683, having by trapane got a petycoat of Euphame Scott's, after Lady Eymouth, (and spous to Wynram of Eymouth, who is now

last good works was a pamphlet he wrote to fix Doctor Oats his popish plot upon the presbyterians, and so to divert the enquiry from the papists. But hade you heard the reckoning that was betwixt Mr James Gordon, the author of The Reformed Bishop, and him, before a commitee of the secret councill, where diverse of our presbyterian lords sat judges in the controversy, there you should have hade a more clear discovery of the good man's morals; for my part, I think I have said enough. I will give you ane instance of the justice our curats used to doe in such a case. There was one Mr Walter Kieth, curat in Chingle Kirk, who was, all the countrey knew, (and many stories there were of it) a common adulterer with his neighbour James Wilson's wife. The poor man resented it, and complained to his neighbours upon it. The curat, to be first in play, summonds him before the presbytrie of Erlistoun (his ordinary) to answer there a slander of his godly pastor. The man could not deny what he hade spoken before so many; but because he could not by two eye-witnesses prove that they saw Kieth commit adultery with his wife, he is condemned to confess his slander in sackecloath upon all the pillories in the presbyterie. Yet one eye-witness there was; for my Lord of Jedburgh his lackey lyeing one day in James Wilson's barn, saw the curat and the wife enter the barn, and was both eye and ear-witness to what I need not write. The lackey resolved to make advantage of it; so after they hade left the barn, he went boldly to the curat's stable and took away his horse, which the curat soon mist, but could not find it. The next day the lackey comes

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broken, and she dead,) with whom he was deadly in love, tho' she hated him, he made thereof a wastecoat and drawers; for which he was suspended: but the Bishop of Edinburgh, Paterson, reponed him in Feb. 1684."

that way rideing upon the curat's horse, and so was seased by the people of the village and brought before the curat, who threatned him very sore; he whispers the whole story into the curat's ear in so convincing a manner, the curat thought it even best to quite his horse for fear of a worse. Alwayes, poor James Wilson hade no other satisfaction but this: Being a vintner, he made a painter draw a pair of bull's horns upon his sign-post, with a scurrelous epigrame containing the sume of the shamefull story; and this was a memorial to be contemplate by all that travell that most patent road, as I have seen it myself many times; and with this the curats durst never meddle, nor Kieth himself, tho' he dwelt within a few paces of it.* Another example of scandals of this sort I shall give:—Mr Thomas Hamilton, curat of Carnwath, kept his sister Mary with him in his house, while he was unmarried; with her he fell in incest, and by her had a child, as was well known to the people of the village, who not only heard her crying when she was in her pains of child-birth, but also drew so near as to hear the words he spoke to her in the time, (for other midwife they sought none;) and as for the poor child it was never seen by the world, the report went they buried it under a bush: However, the clamour of the scandal became so flagrant, he judged it necessary to vindicat himself; so, by the procurement of the King's Advocate, ane assize was called, and

* Burnet of Crimont (Bishop Burnet's father) writing to his brother-in-law Wariston, respecting the tyranny of the Covenanters, observes, "It is a wanton life to make good fare upon other men's purses, and lye in their wives bosom all night, and then urge other men, that may be as good and acceptable to God as themselves, to be persecuted."—*Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain, published by Lord* HAILES.

witnesses were chosen, such as he knew well knew nothing in the matter, and upon their ignorance he was absolved. But he escaped not so; for afterwards, when he was at Hamilton, and a married man, the Duke and Dutchesse came to be so clear that his guilt was real, and his accusation (of that and other things not to be named) true, that he called him one day into his chamber and commanded him to get him gone out of Scotland, else he would accuse him upon his life; whereupon the guilty wretch forsook Scotland and his miserable wife, and went, no man knew whither, which he would never have done if he durst have abidden a fair and just tryal and proper witnesses. We shall come to scandals against the sixth command: There was Mr Archbald Bieth, curat in Arran, who killed a poor merchant only for bringing over some Irish victual to relieve the poor people of Scotland in a time of more than ordinary dearth; for this I saw him before the Lords Justices of Scotland, where he found favour enough, but the case was so clear, he was, by ane assize of honest men, found guilty of murther and condemned to die; yet for the honour of the clergy, he was by Charles the Second pardoned, and sent home to his paroch to preach upon the sixth command. There was yet a more sad murther found among them: One Mr Duncan, a curat, near Perth, kept a servant woman, by whom he hade a child in fornication; but fearing the discovery of his scandal might deprive him of his stipend, he secretly murthered the poor infant, and burried it in his own kitchen under a great stone. Alwayes the cry of innocent blood brought his crime to light, for which he was by the Earle of Perth, baillie of that regality, condemned to be hanged, and was accordingly execute.*

* "*June* 6, 1682. One Mr Duncan, a minister in Perthshire, is condemned to death by the Earl of Perth, as stewart of Crieff, for murdering an infant begotten by him in fornication with his servant maid; it being found buried under his own hearth-stone.

But the most sad of all was that of Mr Edward Thomson, curat of Anstrudder; this man was the son of a godly father, a minister, who bred his son in the knowledge of the truth and profession of godliness; and when the honest father died, he straitly charged this his son to follow his father's way, and in any case to beware of conforming to the course of the bishops. This course he followes for some time, but wearying of the poverty of non-conformists, he went to one of their mock presbytries, and there entered upon his tryals. The report went, that when he was upon his tryals, his father appeared to him and threatned him for engadging in such a course, whereupon he desisted for some time; but the same tentation returning, he once more engadged with the bishops, entered upon his tryals, and having passed, settled at Anstrudder. He hade while he was there wife and children; afterwards, being a widow, he continued in his ministry, but at length became very sad and heavy. One Saturday, at night, he went to make a visit, and stayed out very late, and as he returned homeward, the wench that bare his lanthron, as they past a bridge, affirmed the bridge trembled and shoke, also that she saw something like a black beast pass

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He was convicted on very slender presumptions, which, however they might amount to degradation and banishment, yet it was thought hard to extend them to death."—*Lord* FOUNTAINHALL'S *Decisions*, *p.* 185.—Tradition strongly asserts the innocence of the curate of Kinfauns, a man of irreproachable character, previous to the accusations preferred against him by his maid-servant, who was a Drummond, (as was the real father of the child) and connected with persons of that name, who had some influence over Lord Perth. It is said that the privy council dispatched a reprieve for the unhappy man; but the Drummonds contrived to detain the boat belonging to the river Erne on the opposite bank, until Duncan was executed. The elements, it is added, testified against this cruelty with an unwonted tempest of rain and thunder; and the subsequent misfortunes of the Drummond family are still attributed by the superstitious to the unjust sentence pronounced upon Duncan by James, fourth Earl of Perth.

the bridge before him. This made some suspect he medled with the devil, and he was known to have a brother that was a diabolick man.* However, home he came very late, and after he hade lyen

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* Though the great reformer Knox is said by Livingstone to have "dispossessed an evil spirit out of a chamber in Ormiston, in East Lothian;" yet even he was accused of sorcery by his enemies. "About this tyme, to wit, the 5 or 6 of Januar (1572) Jhone Law, the post of St Androis, being in Edinburgh, and also in the Castle, ane demandit if Jhone Knox was banist St Androis, and gif that his servant Richard was deid, who knawing no sic thing, confessit the treuth. But the Ladie Home and utheris wald neidis thraip in his face that he was banist the said toune; becaus that in the yarde he had raisit sum sanctis, amongis whome thair come up the devill with hornis; which when his servant Richart sawe, ran woode, and so died."—BANNATYNE'S *Journal*, *p.* 309.

- - - - - - - - "All the disciples of this monstrous beast, Martin Lauter, dois put sik fœlicitie in the lust of the flesch, that in auld men, quha to the judgment of the varld, according to thair vou levit chaist to the tyme they var mekil mair nor threscoir of zeiris, and had almaist the ane fut in the graif, the spirit of fornicatione and adulterie enterit with sik inordinat lust, that skarselie could it be quenchit ather by vyf or hyre voman. I might produce, for example, that runegat and perjurit priest, Schir Johan Kmnox, quha, after the death of his first harlat, quhilk he mareit, incurring eternal damnation be breking of his vou and promiss of chastitie; quhen his age requyrit rather that vith tearis and lamentation he sould have chastised his flesh, and bevailit the breaking of his vou, as also the horribil incest with his gudmother in ane killogie of Hadintoun; zit notwithstanding, heaving laid asyd al feir of the panies of hel, and regarding na thing the honestie of the warld, as ane band sklave of the devil, being kendillit with ane unquenshible lust and ambition, he durst be sua bauld to enterpryze the sute of marriage with the maist honorabil ladie, my ladie Fleming, my lord duke's eldest dochter, to the end that his seid being of the blude royal, and gydit by thair father's spirit, might have aspyrit to the croun; and because he receavit ane refusal, it is notoriouslie knawin how deidlie he haited the hail hous of the Hamiltones, albeit being deceavit by him traitorouslie, it was the chief upsettar and protector of his hœresie. And this maist honest refusal could nather stench his lust nor ambition; bot a lytel efter he did persew to have allyance with the honorabill hous of Ochiltree, of the Kyng's M.

a while in bed, rose early upon Sabbath morning, and threw himself into the river, where he was taken up dead, to the great astonishment of his poor neighbours. One instance more I shall give of their morals: Mr Giden Penman, curat at Creighton, was well known to be a witch; divers eye-witnesses deponed they hade many times seen him at the witches' meetings, and that the devil called him ordinarly, Penman, my chaplane. Also upon a time when Satan administred his communion to his congregation, Penman sat next the devil's elbow; and that when their deacon had served the table with wafers, in the popish fashion, when there re-

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awin blude; rydand thair with ane gret court, on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendis of taffetie feschnit with golden ringis, and precious stanes: and as is planelie reportit in the countrey, be *sorcerie and vitchcraft* did sua allure that puir gentil woman, that scho could not leve without him; whilk appeiris to be of gret probabilitie, scho being ane damosel of nobil blud, and he ane auld decrepit creatur of maist bais degree of onie that could be found in the countrey: sua that sik ane nobil hous could not have degenerat sua far, except Johann Kmnox had interposed the powar of his maister the devil, quha as he transfiguris him self sumtymes in an angel of licht, sua he causit Johann Kmnox appeir ane of the maist nobil and lustie men that could be found in the warld."—*Disputation concerning the controversit Headdis of Religion.*

Haldin in the realme of Scotland the zeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth fourscoir zeirs, betuix the pretendit Ministers of the deformit Kirk in Scotland, and Nicol Burne, Professor of Philosophie in S. Leonardis College, in the citie of Sanctandrois, brocht up from his tender eage in the perversit sect of the Calvinists, and nou be ane special grace of God ane membre of the halie and Catholick Kirk.

Dedicat

To his soverane the Kingis Ma. of Scotland,

King James the Saxt.

Imprented at Parice the first day of October, 1581.

mained two wafers more than served the company, the deacon laid down his two wafers before the devil, which two the devil gave to Penman, and bid him goe carrie these to the papists in Winton. But he escapt without punishment.*

I am weary of their scandals. Wee shall come to their doctrine; and, first, it must be considered, their episcopal church owned no confession of faith as the standard of their doctrine and faith. It is true, in the acts of parliament (their only rule) there is a confession of faith, but so general and short, it seems to have been written rather to oppose atheism than heresy; and as it stands in our printed acts it is both nonsense and heresie; and if ye will take Bishop Paterson's interpretation of it, (which was allowed by the secret council,) it is ane uncertain insignificant cypher; so this was of no use, and was by them every day contradicted. So every man might teach what he pleased; and because they loved to follow England, therefore Hamond, Thorndyke, Sherlock, Taylor, and such, were

* "*Criminal Court, Sept.* 1678. Eight or ten witches, all (except one or two) poor miserable like women, were pannelled; some of them were brought out of Sir Robert Keith's lands, others out of Ormiston, Crighton, and Pencaitland parishes. The first of them were dilated by these two who were burnt in Salt-Preston, in May 1678, and they divulged and named the rest, as also put forth seven in the Lonehead of Laswade; and, if they had been permitted, were ready to file, by their delation, sundry gentlewomen and others of fashion; but the justices discharged them, thinking it either the product of malice or melancholy, or the devil's deception, in representing such persons as present at their *field-meetings*, who truly were not there. However, they were permitted to name Mr Gideon Penman, who had been minister at Crighton, and for sundry acts of uncleanness and other crimes was deprived. Two or three of the witches constantly affirmed that he was present at their meetings with the devil; and that when the devil called for him, he asked, Where is Mr Gideon, my chaplain? and that ordinarily Mr Gideon was in the rear of all their dances, and beat up these that were slow. He denied all, and was liberate upon caution."—FOUNTAINHALL's *Decisions*, p. 14.

our young divines' authors; with their heifers they plowed.* They hade ane humor of creating doctors of divinity, and every empty young man who was so vain as to be a doctor gott himself graduat, and then for one demonstration of his sufficiency was to propound and dispute for some one Popish or Socinian error, or, it may be, two or three. But if ye would understand a Scotch curat's faith, take Burnet's dialogues, (he was curat of Salton, he is now bishop of Sarum,) and there you see what soundness and zeal was to be found among them. He begins with the governments. Non-resistance he makes a necessary foundamental you may be sure, and at a high rate; but how to reconcile his practise at Torbay when he landed in arms against his irresistable soveraign King James, you may guesse.† He does indeed essay the agreement in his pastoral letter, but with that successe, his pamphlet was judged by the English parliament men to be worthy of the noble reward of publick burning by the executioner's hand. However, after his sound doctrine concerning the two governments, he goes to arminianism, which he avouches in so rude a manner, I am confident he hade no

* The theological studies of the whigs are thus particularized by Colvill:—

"We'll read on the true convert's mark,
Or we will read on Bessie Clark,
Or else on Baker's heavenly beam,
Or on the Lady Culross' dream;
Which sundry drunken asses flout,
Not seeing the jewel within the clout."

† See Lord Clarendon's Diary for a curious account of Burnet's behaviour after his landing in England with the Prince of Orange. At Salisbury, he went to prayers in the Cathedral, where, to the astonishment of the people, when the Collect for the king was read, "he rose from his knees, sate down in his stall, and made an ugly noise with his mouth."

thanks from Holland. Then he asserts the Popish errors, and, lastly, the Socinian, to that height he scoffs the blessed Trinity; but he professes himself a man of that high strain of moderation and charity, that he has a bosom for every sect that wears the name of Christian, except only ane unpardonable dissenter from his church.* Yet he was thought fitt to be a father in our church, and placed in Glasgow colledge to breed our young divines; and what a fry his disciples were, the Lord knows better than the godly people of Scotland, who refused to hear them or own them. Some of them declared themselves papists, and forsook both the church and their congregation, as Mr Alexander Irvine and Mr John Row. But their most common politick profession was latitude and indifferency in opinions and questions, and this truely not because they thought so, but because hereby they were in best case to turn and serve the times without the reproach of inconstancy, and they knew little what the publick profession of the land might turn to be. And, lastly, if you would know what integrity of spirit was among them,

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" Compesce me, Muse, those stout bravadoes
Of these stiff-necked reformadoes,
Who still maintain, unto this day
They have th' office, though they want pay;
In others harvests putting their sickles,
Troubling the land with conventicles;
Whose stubborn heart cannot be turned
By the dialogues of Gilbert Burnet."

Whig's Supplication.

These dialogues Burnet dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale, in the most fulsome strain of flattery. But on his quarrel with that nobleman, he had the dedication cancelled in as many copies as he could procure. To form a proper estimate of Burnet's meanness and versatility, compare this dedication with the character of the duke given in his history.

consider their last work, the sting in their tail, The Presbyterian Eloquence. The authors are said to be Mr Gilbert Crockat and Mr John Monroe, confessors for the Scotch bishops and pensioners to the English. And truely one would think, a thinking man who reads that piece may wonder first what conscience governs these men, who publish, to abuse the world, such stories, which they themselves know to be lies, as well as they whom they bely. Next, what wisdom is among them, who knew well enough there are thousands of honest people to refute their calumnies! or what impudence rules in them, who may well know the people in Scotland may well by their book be perswaded to believe the curats are impudent atheists, but not that the presbyterians are such men as their adversaries would make them! and what these malicious children of Satan would doe (if they hade power) to those they so cruelly mock. Can a man think that ever the spirit of truth will accompany the lips belonging to such a pen? For my part, I never heard of a soul converted by a curat's preaching; but this is their last poor effort. When they cannot reach the Lord's servants with their hands, they shoot, for their arrows, bitter words; they are like their father the Devil, whose works, lyes, and murthers they do; his delyte is their delyte also; he delighted in Judas his treason, tho' thereby he destroyed his own kingdome, and they delight in malicious lyes, tho' the fruit of it be to gett themselves abhorred of men, and cursed by Jesus, who shall one day judge them by those men whom they have so much injured.* I seem to have said enough to discover what a

* The pamphlet, which seems to have enraged Kirkton so much, is written on the plan of L'Estrange's Dissenter's Sayings, and was published under this title, "The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, or the Foolishness of their Teaching discovered from their Books, Sermons, and Prayers, with some Remarks on Mr Rule's late Vindication of the Kirk." Kirkton's own flowers of eloquence preserved there are generally too

pack they were, but I have not said all; and this is a great sin I am to write, if it be a lye, and if a truth, a testimony for the sufferers in Scotland, and that is, I could fill a large volumne with true relations of these miserable men's scandals and crimes; it may be another will do it. God forbid I should say the Lord had no interest among them; but this is true, if there were secret saints among them, they did not appear; they were hid in the crowd; and many a presbyterian minister has offended many ane honest saint by defending or speaking good of some of them; yet hade the Lord a testimony from some among them, and that of several sorts. First, the conscience of some of them awoke and threatned them att a high rate even with the terrors of damnation. There was never a presbyterian troubled in his conscience upon his death-bed, because he kept his covenant and disowned bishops; but many a poor curat was sore tormented for what he had done.

There was Mr Donald Richman, a man that once professed himself a presbyterian of the strictest sort, but after he hade been a while a curat in the west countrey, when his dyeing day came, he died a troubled man, professing, that since he first put his foot in the stirrop to go to the bishop, he never found comfort in God, and so departed in great grief and terror. There was another, Mr Mann, a curat near Lithgow, who died in a most lamentable manner full of horror, as was

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indecent for transcription; he, moreover, is termed the everlasting comedian of the party, and accused of extreme covetousness. The pamphlet itself (which has gone through a number of editions) is blameworthy, as preserving a multitude of profane expressions uttered by foolish or ignorant presbyterian clergymen, to the scandal of any church; but that these expressions have been exaggerated, as the Covenanters pretend, there is no reason to believe; nay, extracts might be made from sermons still extant, both in print and in MS., almost equally gross and abominable with those which disgrace the pages of the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence.

known amongst his neighbours, but the particulars I have not heard. And the saddest example among them was of two brothers of the name of Weems, who lived near Perth, the one at Aberdalgy, where Mr George Haliburton hade been presbyterian minister; this poor man lived in great trouble, and seemed to die in despair; for when he took his death-bed, first he sent for Mr Haliburton, and craved him pardon for entring into his church contrare to the will of God; then he desired him to pray for him, which Mr Haliburton did very heartily, but to small purpose, alace! for his horror continued, because of his perjury, even to the last. He was sometimes visited by a countrey woman in that village, which used to visit such people, being a midwife to her occupation, which also attended him at his death, and assured my informer, a godly and grave person, she had never heard a woman in the torments of child-birth roar as that man did even when he expired. His brother curat at Scoon, as I remember, fell sick much about the same time, and when he came to die, he told his neighbours he hade preacht of heaven and hell, but never believed there was either the one or the other, till now he found he was certainly damned to hell because of his perjury and falsehood to Jesus Christ. More examples I shall not add, tho' I might add many. There was another sort of witnesses among the curats against the curats, to whom the living conviction came in due time. These, notwithstanding all the miseries and sufferings which they saw attended the presbyterians, declared publicly against bishops and conformity, condemned themselves for what they hade done, forsook their churches and stipends, and were ordinarly welcomed into the estate of non-conformists by some severe punishment of imprisonment or exile, and never missed the bishop's deposition. Among these were Mr John and Alexander Carmichal, two brothers, the one following the other, and both able men. Also Mr Thomas Foster,

Mr Alexander Symer,* Mr Angus M'Cane, and several more. The conversion of Mr John Monroe made much noise. This man went to a field-meeting, where he heard Mr John Welsh was to preach; and having satisfied Mr John Welsh in the morning concerning his change, desired to preach with Mr Welsh that day, which was granted; so after Mr Welsh hade ended sermon before noon, Mr Monroe stood up before the great field-meeting, and after he hade made his declaration and recantation, preacht in the afternoon to great satisfaction, and so continued; and those men were commonly the most zealous adversaries to bishops in all Scotland. Lastly, some before they would quite their post would needs testify their dissatisfaction with their party. Mr William Spense, at the desire of diverse of his brethren, (who promised to stand by him,) publickly offered before Bishop Ramsey, in his synod at Dumblane, to which Mr Spense belonged, to prove a great many of his neighbours in that diocie either guilty of heresy or scandal, if witnesses might be heard and fair justice done; and all the justice he hade was, first to be deposed as a slanderer, and then excommunicate, which sentence the bishop pronunced in a most informall manner, and in a prayer to God gave the honest man to the devil; so his brethren forsook him, and he turned irregular preacher, as they were called, till the Lord restored him to a more comfortable ministry.

Now, of what use shall these curats be among the honest people of Scotland? Truely they have much to doe, for they are appointed not only to subdue the people of Scotland to a conformity with, and subjection to, the odious bishops, but also they have the people of Scotland to perswade to change their principles, and new mould our church into such a frame, that our bishops by their activity

* See a ridiculous letter of this convert in Hicks's Ravillac Redivivus.

might be in case to amplify the king's power, advance his designes, and secure his pleasures, for these were the great designes in this new reformation. But how shall such despicable men be cloathed with authority for this effect? Truely, you may think it was a hard task, but our state must undertake and goe through with it. When a presbyterian minister entered to his charge upon the call of the people, the course he took was faithfullness and painfullness, private exhortation, publick instruction, catechising, preaching, and wrestling with the Lord by prayer to gain his people: and so it came to pass his congregation many times gathered as a cloud, and like doves, because they could not enter by the doores, the house was so throng, crouded to the windows, that they might hear without the help of souldiers to drive them thither. The bishops take another way to possess the curats of the affections and respect of their people, and this was by violent compulsion, wherein truely many desiderat their wisdom as much as their justice in their course. If people be compelled to hear a man preach, they hear him with so much prejudice, they will censure his doctrine and loath his person, as it was their experience; but this is the course they will take unto their ruine. The Apostle Paul sayes, he recommended himself unto the consciences of his people, by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness. But the curats commend themselves to the consciences of the people of Scotland, by fyning, by imprisonment, by relegations, by selling for slaves, by banishment, by scourging, by stigmatizing, by bloody executions: these hade ane effect suitable.*

* The true spirit and essence of presbyterian invective against the clergy of the rival persuasion is contained in the following lines, (from a collection of MS. poetry written

I shall begin with their expedient of fyning, in which their method was this. The secret councill, finding the people of the west the most dissatisfied with the late change, thought good to quarter the forces when in pay among that people. Among all the souldiers there was one Sir James Turner, ane old servant of the Covenanters, but a turncoat, as many were at that time; and because he was a fierce harsh man, therefore he was judged a fitt instrument for such a work. To him the councill direct a letter, dated Nov. 14, 1663, by which they require him to see the laws execute against those who withdraw from the new ministers. This was a text he could well interpret, especially with the help of Mr James Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway; and to help them in this, besides the Act of Fyning, there is a proclamation emitted by the councill, to fine every person in 20 shill. Scots for every dayes absence from the church. Also another proclamation there is, discharging all sorts of meetings for religious exercises, under pain of sedition. And, lastly, a proclamation commanding all masters of families and all heritors to command their tennants to obey the laws and keep their

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after the Revolution, in the possession of the editor,) entitled, "Ane Answer to Curat Caddel's Satyre upon the Whigs:"—

"Jacobites, wicked sprites, hypocrites, by tongue and mouth,
Ill inventors, earth's tormentors, curs'd dissenters from the truth;
Blasphemous speakers, covenant-breakers, test-takers, filthy frogs,
Perverse ones, Babel's sons, idle drones, and dumb dogs;
Beggar bucklers, cheating trucklers, unclean cucklers, lustfull rams,
Mammon curriers, butchering burriers, wolf worriers of the lambs;
Pulpit jesters, state infestors, church pesters, by intention,
Hellish kites, mothish mites, with your rites of Rome's invention;
Beastly bodies, senseless nodies, venemous todies, nothing other,
Priests of Baal, one and all, soon may you fall, with Rome your Mother."

paroch church, otherwayes to remove them out of their houses or lands under all highest pains. Now this foundation being laid, the curats accuse when they please to Sir James, any of his officers, or it may be a private centinel; and here there was a short process; the souldier is judge, no witnesses is used, the sentence is pronunced, the souldier executes his own sentence, and receives the money for his own use, and many times the fyne exceeds the sum appointed by law. If they be not able, or unwilling to pay, they are quartered upon till they be eaten up; their goods are distrained and sold for a triffle, till many poor people were constrained to scatter their families, and either lurk or leave the countrey. While they quartered in these poor families, none of the old Lord Danes were so insolent. They mockt religious worship, they beat the poor people, the men they bind and wound, they dragg to church and prison, and both with equal violence. The curats use to make a roll of their parishioners; this they call after their sermon; all absent (if they please) are given up to the souldiers; they extort the money or quarter upon the people; no defence saved a fyne. They quartered sometimes in the houses of a man that kept the church, because another man who kept it not dwelt there before. Another practise was common among them, and that was, because the people used to goe and hear the presbyterian ministers who were not as yet turned out, and the cursed souldiers would run in troops to these churches; they enter the church and interrupt the worship; they make the congregation pass out at one door; they make them all swear whether they be members of that congregation yea or not. Those that are not, they presently fine; if they hade not money, they take from them their books and garments, with many a buffet, and sometimes bloody woundings. This was often done at the churches of Eaglisham, Ochiltree, Kilwinning, Irwine, Stewarton, and several other places. And when all these outrages were com-

mitted, they forced the poor people under their hand to declare they hade been civily used by them, who used them most barbarously.

But all this did not the turn of Scotland, which loathed bishops and curats formerly, and this made them abhorr them. Alwayes, they resolved, if they be not loved they shall be feared, as tyrants use to reason; and therefore at this time Bishop Sharp posts to court, to procure of the king the erection of a court of high commission, which hade been the former bishops' great rock in the times of K. James and K. Charles,—a court so odious and tyrannical, that when England restored K. Charles to all his prerogatives and dignities, of the high commission they would never hear; but any thing is welcome to slavish flattering Scotland, and such it was at that time. The bishop gained his point. And the king, by his letters, dated 12 January, 1664, by virtue of his prerogative royal and ecclesiastick supremacy, gives and grants to the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Rothes, Theasurer, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Duke Hamilton, the Marquesse of Montrose, the Earles of Argyle, Athol, Eglinton, Lithgow, Hoome, Galloway, Tweddale, Leven, and Murray; the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkell, Aberdeen, Brichen, Isles, and Argyle; the Lords of Drumlanerick, Cochran, Haukerton, Bellenden, Pitsligo, and Frazer; the Lord Advocate, Justice Clerk, Hatton, Philorth, Sir Andrew Ramsey, Sir William Thomson; the Provests of Aberdeen, St Andrews, Glasgow, Air, and Dumfries, Sir James Turner, and the Dean of Edinburgh, or any 5 of them, (a bishop being one,) to use their uttermost endeavour that the acts of parliament and councill, made for the order and peace of the church, and in behalf of episcopal government, be put into vigorous and impartial execution against all and every one within the kingdome of Scotland who presume to disobey these acts now settled; and for this effect to

summond and call before them, when and where they please, all popish traffiquers and jesuits or mass priests, (this is for the fashion,) and who condemn the discipline of the church, and censured therefore, all keepers of conventicles, all ministers who continue in the exercise of their ministry in their paroches or preach in private houses, all who keep meetings, (this is twice before,) all preachers who come from England or Ireland without the bishop's licence, all who speak, preach, write, or print to the scandal or detriment of the government of the church or state, all who contemn or molest regular ministers, all who do not ordinarly attend all ordinances in their paroches, all who goe about as bussie bodies to divert the people from their alleadgance, all who express their dissatisfaction to the present acts about church affaires; with power to them to appoint ministers to be censured by suspension and deposition, and to punish, by fyning and incarcerating, all persons who shall be found transgressors, their fynes not exceeding the sume appointed by law; commanding all captains, constables, magistrates, to receive their prisoners, and the lords of councill to grant letters for their fynes, and no suspension to be granted but upon the bishop's warrand; appointing Mr Thomas Young clerk, and Mr Alexander Keith receiver of the fynes, the one half of which was to be imployed for defraying the charges of the court, the other half for pious uses; appointing this commission to continue till November next, or till it be discharged, and the first meeting to be on the first Wednesday of March following; commanding the sealls to be appended without further warrand or order. This is the sume of the commission of this hermophrodite court, partly civil, wherein laymen hade power to judge ministers' doctrine and depose them, and churchmen hade power of corporal punishment in a civil case; but it was the very genuine birth of our supremacy, and very like the parent. This same day, the king, by his letter from Whitehall, de-

clared it to be his pleasure that the Bishop of St Andrews have the precedency of the chancellor and all the subjects within the kingdome; and this was for the honour of the church and the authority of the commission.*

But before I speak of the actings of the commission, some occurrences of the time I must remember. The bishops made it part of their bussiness, for two or three years after the young ministers were turned out, to send the old ministers after them, and so make a clean house. Their way was, where they found ane old minister that hade been ordained before the year 1649, and did not attend his diocesian meeting, first to summond him before himself in his synod, and then (because almost never one appeared) to depose him. In some places the bishop made a fashion of calling the roll of the curats, as if, forsooth, they hade hade some interest in the government; but in some places, as St Andrews and Edinburgh, the bishop pronunced the sentence according to the act of parliament, the canon of their government. And because some grumbled at what the Bishop of Edinburgh did, he told them the power of government was lodged in his solitary person. Alwayes there were not very many of the old ministers that suffered for their profession, and the whole number of them made not up the third part of the company that were witnesses for the covenant and way of the church of Scotland. It was indeed thought strange, that those who hade been in armes for the covenant, and preached the husband from the wife, and the father from the childeren, should have been so base in ane hour of tryal; but it was a time of great discoveries.

This spring, also, the Chancellor Glencairn left the world and his short-liv'd honor. He died at Bolton, in East-Lothian, of a fever

* "Archbishop Sharp had such a letter, but never made use of it."—FOUNTAINHALL'S *Decisions, vol. I. p.* 184.

of 5 dayes; and tho' he hade lived among the bishops and the curats, yet he desired earnestly to die among the presbyterians; and therefore, as soon as he apprehended death, he posted away a messenger to Mr Robert Douglass, who sojourned then at Preston, but he was not to be gotten, being absent in Fyffe. Then he sent for Mr Robert Ker, in Haddington; but before he could come the dyeing man had lost his senses, and so he was reproved in his sin, tho' he hade made his last choise of those whom he hade sore persecute. And so did many of our grandees, when they hade their eyes opened with the terrors of death, particularly the Duke of Rothes and Earle of Annandale, and many more. Many a time the chancellor cryed out, O to have my last three years recalled! but it would not be granted.* Albeit, that time that Middleton was tottering before his fall, he said one day in private discourse to Sir Alexander Morison of Preston-grange, who told me the story, that if Middleton fell, it would make people say it were a curst thing to introduce bishops into Scotland; for, first, Captain James Stewart hade introduced a sort of bishops, and he died a lamentable death; next, the Earle of Dumbar hade established bishops, and he was

* Walker, in his Life of Donald Cargill, pretends that the duke on his death-bed believed the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by Cargill at the Torwood *binding then, and to all eternity.—See also* WODROW's *History, vol. II. p. 222. and God's Justice exemplified in his Judgements upon Persecutors.*—"The Duke of Rothes died at his lodgings in the Abbey, 26th July, 1681, of the jaundies and hydropsy. He was brought up to the High Church of Edinburgh, and in great state conveyed thence to the Abbey Church, and frae that to Leith, 23d August, 1681; and next day carried to Lessly, and interred there. He was of excellent parts, though void of learning. He gave himself great libertie in all sorts of pleasures and debaucheries, particularly with Lady Ann, sister to the first Duke of Gordon, whom he took along with him in his progress through the country, with hat and feather; and by his bad example infected many of the nobility and gentry."—*Lord* FOUNTAINHALL's *MS. Diary.*

both first and last of his house; and now, if Middleton fall, it will make people say it is a curst practice. Sir Alexander answered, Indeed, my Lord, you were very bussie yourself. He answered, Indeed he was for a sort of moderate bishops, but not for such as they hade got; but Lauderdale was a true prophet, and the Scottish lords beguiled themselves. For they thought well to have brought in a sort of bishops to serve them by suppressing ministers' freedom, which they called sauciness; and they brought in indeed a sort of bishops, who were their masters. And it was verily believed, some words Bishop Sharp spoke stuck so in his stomach, they might be part of the cause of his death. About this same time died Middleton, a banisht man, in the manner I have already told. Also a third builder of Babel, Sir John Fletcher the advocate, tho' he died not at this time, was turned out of his office for bribes and other miscarriages, and little richer he was than when he entered into his terrible employment, notwithstanding all the vast sumes he hade extorted from honest people, who, fearing his power and mallice, were glade to buy his friendship at a very dear rate.*

Before I speak of the actings of the commission, I must speak a little of their way and manner in generall. Their power is very ample; they make many offenders, and sort them strangely, even in their commission; but they hade their commission both enlarged and renewed, and yet it was observed they exceeded the boundaries of the largest. Their court was like the old Lyon in the Cave,—

* "Fletcher was a man of a generous temper, who despised wealth, except as it was necessary to support a vast expence. He was a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could scarce speak with decency or patience to those of the other side; so that he was looked on by all that had been faulty in the late times, as an inquisitor-general. On the other hand, Primrose took money liberally, and was the intercessor for all who made such effectual applications to him."—BURNET's *Hist. vol. I. p.* 104.

many came toward him, none returned from him, because all were devoured: So, for ought I could hear, never one appeared before them that escapt without punishment. Their custom was, without premonition or lybell, to ask a man a question, and judge him presently either upon his silence or his answer. They used not to proceed upon the testimony of witnesses; all lybells were proven sufficiently if the party refused the oath of supremacy, and absolved if he took it. They many times doubled the legal punishment; and not being satisfied with the fyne appointed by law, they used to add religation to some remote places, or deportation to Barbadoes, or selling into slavery; so by this their tyranous practise they altogether deterred people from appearing before them. They made the noblemen for shame dishaunt their meetings; so when they could get neither judges to sitt nor parties to appear, they were constrained to give over. So this Craill Court dissolved after they hade sitt about two years. But to give ane particular account of their cruelties were indeed to transcribe their records, and write a martyrology; therefore I shall content my self to represent some examples of their justice, and doe no more.

The first I shall notice was James Hamilton of Aikenhead; his lybell was, that he heard not his curat. To that he answered, that he could not hear him, because of many injuries the curat hade done him. These offended the Bishop of Glasgow so much, he promised that man should stay no longer in that paroch. Yet they urge Mr Hamilton to engadge himself thereafter to hear the preacher to be settled, and because he refused this, tho' he hade many friends among them, he is fyned in a fourth part of his yearlie rent, and is dismissed for that time; but 'scapt not so. For within three months he is again called, and being informed by Burnet, Bishop of Glasgow, that he continued still averse from hearing the curat, he is again fyned in 300 lib. sterling, confined to Inverness, 150 miles

from his house, and commanded to present himself to the magistrates there within three weeks, and himself to be incarcerate in Edinburgh Tolbooth till he find surety to enter to his confinement. As for his confinement, he obeyed; but being unable to pay the fine, presently they sequestrate his rents till his fyne was payed and received. Like unto this was the case of Porterfield of Duchall, who being conveened before them for the same crime of not hearing his curat, answered, he hade just reason to refuse such a man for his pastor, who abused him with base and injurious reproaches. The commission confessed, if he could prove his excuse it was sufficient, whereupon witnesses are adduced; and the first witness proving all that was said abundantly, the commission fearing the gentleman would vindicate himself by law, in the midst of the examination of witnesses the commission requires him to take the oath of supremacy, which he scrupling to doe, they desert the process of his vindication which formerly they hade granted, and fyne him in 9000 merks, and thereafter relegate him to Elgine, where he lay long, and hade his estate sequestrate till his fyne was raised.

This year, also, Mr James Wood, professor of divinity in St Andrews, departed this life. He hade been Bishop Sharp's very intimate comerade, and therefore was visited by the bishop once and again. The fruit of these visits was, the bishop spread a loud report, that Mr Wood, being near to death, had professed himself indifferent in the point of church government, and that he was as much for bishops as presbytrie. This report coming to Mr Wood's ears, grieved him so much, he could have no peace till he vindicate himself by a solemn declaration before a notar-publick, subscrived with his own hand and the notars, before two famous witnesses, both ministers, Mr John Carstaires and Mr William Tullidaffe. In this he declares, contrare to the bishop's calumny, that he hade never spoken what the bishop hade falsely affirmed, but that he believed presby-

terian government to be of Divine institution, and that it was a point of truth for which a Christian is oblidged to lay down his life if the Lord call him to it. At this the bishop raged, and thereupon caused summond Mr Carstaires (whom he alleadged to be the contriver of the paper, as the notar had informed him,) and Mr Tullidaffe, with John Pitcairn the notar. The two last compeared, and both declared Mr Wood hade endyted that paper, word by word, and the notar wrote it, as it was his office. Here the bishop once more was made a lyar to his face by the notar; but because Mr Carstaires appeared not, but absconded, the bishop was constrained, upon the judgement of the commission, to dismiss the other two without further punishment, Mr Tullidaffe being his great acquaintance, and his design being only against Mr Carstaires. The bishop shewed his malice, and reaped only shame for his reward.

The chancellor's place hade been vacant near six moneths, partly because they could not resolve upon a fitt man whom they would trust; at length the expedient they choiced was to make Rothes (who was high-theasurer for the time) lord-keeper; he was for Lauderdale, against Middleton, abundantly trusted by the bishops, and thought to be in favour with the king, because of some likeness of humor and behaviour; so he is appointed keeper by the king's letter to the councill, bearing date 19th October, 1664: And, to advance him higher, he is, by another letter of the same date, appointed commissioner, to continue for ane uncertain time, as it did, indeed, for several years; and he was the first constant commissioner throw all times that ever was seen in Scotland, and was taken by many for ane encroachment upon the liberty of the nation; however, after this Rothes ruled in the high commission. The next instance I shall give is the story of Mr Alexander Smith, ane outted minister, being at that time at Leith: This man was brought before the commission for preaching privately, or (as they call it) for keep-

ing conventicles, he appeared, and because he called Bishop Sharp only Sir, the commissioner askt him, if he knew to whom he spake? He answered, he knew he spoke to Mr James Sharp, sometime fellow minister with himself. Rothes replyed, he hade not before acted as commissioner, but now he would begin; and, without more adoe, commanded to put the poor man in irons, and lay him in the dungeon called the Theeves' Hole, in company with a poor furious distracted man; and there he lay, till the great respect and courtisie the people of Edinburgh shewed him, made the bishops think it better to carrie him to another roome, where, because of cold and bad accommodation, he fell sick; yet there he continued till he was relegate to Shetland, and there he lay many a year. I heard him say he was in ane island four years, where he hade neither food nor fire, but to keep in a miserable life, his bread being only barley, his feuel sea-tangle. One example more shall be this: The church of Ancrum being vacant through good Mr John Livingston's exile, one Mr James Scot, who hade been excommunicate 20 years before, and still continued so, though he was possessed of two benefices elsewhere, is presented to the church. Upon the day appointed for his induction, a number of the poor people conveened to give him the welcome abhorred pastors use to get; one poor woman amongst them desired earnestly to speak with him, hopeing to disswade him, but he flung away from her, whereupon she takeing hold of his cloak to detain him, he beat her with his staff; this made some boyes throw a stone or two, which neither touched him nor any of his company; this is proclaimed a treasonable tumult. The countrey bailliffs both imprisoned and fyned them. But this saved them not from the claws of the commission, whither, when they were brought, first four boys appeared. The commissioner told them hanging was too

little for them, so their sentence was to be scourged through Edinburgh, burnt in the face, and sold in Barbadoes. Sir John Gilmore told them there was no law for such a cruel sentence; however, it stood, and the poor boyes endured their punishment both like Christians and resolute men. Thereafter they called for two brothers and their sister, the Trumbles of Astneburn; the two brothers, though both heads of families, they sent to Virginia, (to Barbadoes they would not, lest they should have the comfort of their neighbours) and the poor sister, a married woman, they appoint to be scourged through Jedburgh streets. And when some charitable people entreated Bishop Burnett to spare the poor woman, supposing she might be with child, he answered, he should claw the itch out of her shoulders; and indeed he was both the mover and director in this persecution, and many more. Alwayes, when the day of her suffering came, the executioner choiced rather to be kind to his innocent neighbour than true to the bishops; so he permitted her to keep on her cloaths, scarce ever touched her, and hurt her not at all. Her brother led her by the hand, and the execution was attended with more laughter than tears, the people proclaiming the executioner had made the bishop a false prophet, and the bishops were more bitterly curst than she was whipt. In the end of this year, upon November 17th, the commission emitt another proclamation, dischargeing any presbyterian minister to come to Edinburgh without licence; and the reason of this was, that when they came to town they were so attended with salutations, caps, and knees, it made the bishops and curats, who had so little respect, to fret at the heart. This was the 5th punishing proclamation; and as all the rest proceeded from fear or hatred, this proceeded from pure envy.

I have put the bussiness of the commission together, tho' it was acted by parcells, and say no more of it. The lords began to weary

of the bishops' cruelty and drudgery; the bishops began to suspect their friendship; dissension arose; people cited refused to appear, choising rather to be outlaws than certainly ruined: So this goodly court, of which the bishops expected so great matters, after a short continuance evanisht in a smoke.

LIB. VII.

ROTHES HIS GOVERNMENT.

ROTHES is now governour of Scotland, a man of mylder temper then Middleton, never so cruel as in the high commission. Hade his morals been as pure as his addresse was gentle, his character hade been more perfect; but his infamous converse with Lady Ann Gordon highly disparaged his reputation, and, as it was confidently reported, touched his own conscience so much, that one day being under the dint of his own conviction, and reflecting upon his misbehaviour toward his worthy lady, (whom he could not but admire,) he threw all the wretched love-tokens his miss hade given him into the fire, upon suspicion and fear he was detained her captive by the power of witchcraft, as very many said he was.* However, him the

* Among the letters of Archbishop Sharp to the Duke of Rothes, there is one, (from London, 1666,) in which some words concerning Lady Ann Gordon have been carefully erased. But in another, dated June 30, are to be found several passages, evidently alluding to that lady, whose brother, a minor, had been educated by his mother in the Popish persuasion, and was now about to be taken from her, in order to his conversion, and she sent to the north of Scotland, probably as much to separate her daughter from Rothes, as her son from herself.—"What I wrote of the defamations of your grace whispered here to persons of great note, I thought it was my duty to declare against them, as false and calumnious, and give your grace notice of them, which I did without any design to insinuate, for your grace may reckon that your adversaries are myn; but only that you might know that you are not exempted from the fate of all great men, which is to have their carriage, inclinations, and actions sifted, and often

king gave us for our governour. And truely this year produced no great changes in our church, for partly the plague raging at London so terribly that there died sometimes a 1000 a day, and partly the Dutch war, made our government more calm in their proce-

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misconstructed, and therefore they had need to take heed to their wayes, especially those who live in Scotland.

" If upon my writing with so much passion and concern by my last to your grace, about the removing of the Lady M. of Huntly to the north, your grace takes offence, so as to change your affection to me, which would be more grievous than any evil I have mett with in my life, I shall only say this, my infelicity is great, to be put to that strait, that I must either incurr your displeasure, before which I cannot stand, or be wanting in the duty of a faithfull friend and servant, to tell you what is for your good, though displeasing (which a flatterer will not do) in a matter wherein I am upon undenyable evidences perswadit, your honour, your standing, the repute of the king's authority in your person, the satisfaction of the kingdom, the stopping the mouths of your adversaries are more visibly concerned than in any thing else you can take into consideration. I have chosen that which is my duty. which I cannot dispense, unless I should justly draw upon my self the censure of all here, and at home, as having prostituted my conscience, the reputation of my office, and abandoned all regard to your weel-being, honour, and good fame, (which is as dear to me as my life,) and so to be concluded by all persons as a base man, unworthy of my trust, and the office I bear, and worthy to be abandoned; and having once for all sayed this, which is to yourself alone, I must lye at the foot of your mercy, and wait upon God, who I hope will lead you to take resolutions suitable to the eminency of your trust, the honour of your person and family, and the reputation of your name, which is necessary for you in the eyes of the people, if you would have the authority and actions of your place regardit and venerated by them as they ought to be. Whatever reflection you may have of this now, I trust in God, do I live or perish, you shall 7 years hence have cause to say my freedom in this has proceedit more from pure duty and sincere affection and concernment for you than any thing else it can be imputed to. Pardon this my scribbling, God guyd and preserve you, and when you shall do to me what you please, you will still find that I am inviolably yours." *Vide* BURNET, *vol. I. p.* 239, for a false representation of Sharp's conduct in this affair.—As to Lady Anne's witchcraft, it is probable

dure. As for the Dutch warr, it is out of my road; I shall not meddle with it; only this remark was almost by all made upon it; Our king by it acquired more dishonour than ever any king of England since their was a king in it; for tho' many judged England to have the better cause than the Dutch, yet the Dutch carried the honour of the warr most perfectly. Att the same time the king declared warr against France; but before he began, March 3d, 1665, our councill proclaimed a fast through all our churches for successe in the warr, and this successe it hade. In the beginning the Bishop of Munster (whose allyance our king bought for 500,000 lib. English) hade some petty successe, but soon deserted our king, and gifted his forces to serve against our king. Also, at the Daggerbank, the English had a considerable victory over the

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that it chiefly consisted in her beauty, though the belief in charms, as the practice of administering love philtres, was still very prevalent. A strange instance of this superstition is to be found in the Criminal Records of Edinburgh, 11th January, 1638.

"Ad: aguens Colquhon of Lusse, and Thomas Carlips, German, his servant, for consulting of necromancers and sorcerers, and incest contrare the 73 act of the 9 Parl. of Q. Marie, and the 14th act of the 1 Parl. of K. James the 6.

"The fact was thus: Lus was m^d. to Ladie Lilias Grahame, the E. of Montrois his eldest daughter: the E. being dead, the Lady Lus brings home hir 2d sister, the Ladie Catharine, to her oune house, where Lus, unmindful of all law, delt with the said Ladie Catharine to bereave hir of hir chastity, and not prevailing, he consulted with the said Carlips, his man, (who was a negromancer,) and with other witches and sorcerers, how to gain his point, who gave him sundrie filtra and other impoysoned and enchanted tokens of love, and especially a jewell of gold set with rubies and diamonds, which being intoxicat, had a secret and develish vertue of alluring and forcing the receiver to expose hir bodie, fame, credit, and all, to base and unlawfull pleasures; which jewell he having given hir, she was so bewitched that she had no power to refuse him after; so that he had straight carnall dealing with hir, and so committed incest, and carried her to London with him. He is denounced fugitive, and put to the horne."—*Abbreviate of the Register of Justiciarie, MS.*

Dutch in June, (for which in Scotland wee made 3 thanksgivings,) but were repulsed at Bergen by the Dutch with very great losse in August following. Thereafter, the next year, the Dutch hade a great victory over the English in the moneth of June, (but our governours thought it policy to appoint a thanksgiving for it;) and then, in Jully thereafter, the English hade the better of the Dutch upon the coast of Holland. Yet the conclusion of all was this: the king was not able to keep a fleet at sea the 3d year, and thereupon the Hollanders, taking advantage upon June , 1667, burnt the king's fleet at Chattam, carried away the royal Charles prisoner, and spoiled divers places thereabout, and might (as it was thought) have adventured upon London, because of the fearfull consternation that was in it at that time, hade they been well informed: All which discouraged our king; so he was constrained to send over Sir Thomas Clifford, ambassador, to make peace upon any terms whatsomever, and if no other would doe it, to beg it. The gentleman, when he came to Hague, would gladly have made peace for his master's honour by the overture and interposition of the Sweddish ambassador. This the States rejected with disdain, and told the Sweddish ambassador, that if the English king desired peace, his ambassador might seek it of them himself. Whereupon Sir Thomas was forced to appear at the States' barre, and in formal words declare his master hade sent him over to seek peace from them; which they granted, but not till they triumphed in his submission: So ended this inglorious warre. But if the Dutch hade the honour, the king answered it with bitter resentment and hatred, as afterward it was seen.

At home our councill did no great bussiness, yet something they would doe. In the spring they disarmed the whole west countrey, the most popular part of Scotland; the pretence was, lest the phanaticks (so they called all honest covenant keepers) should perchance

joyn with the Dutch. Never till now did the King of Scotland disarm his own subjects, but he feared their affections would be like their obligations. And for the same reason, afterward they incarcerate several gentlemen, such as they thought might have any power with that party; Sir Heugh Campbell, Sir William Mure, Sir James Stewart, Sir John Chiesly,* Major-General Montgomrie, Leutennant-General Holburn, the Laird of Dunlop, and others. Some were laid in Edinburgh Castle, some in other prisons, where they lay till the peace was made. Also, upon June 6, there is a convention of states called to assist the king in his warr. The Bishop of St Andrews hade the harangue, tho' Rothes the commissioner was present. He, in his cold tedious manner, exhorted the States to contribute willingly and liberally, which was the substance of his speech. Alwayes the convention granted to leavy the summe of . The Duke of Hamilton was made collector, (no glorious office for a prince,) and a great share of the summe came to his hand, for his collector's fee, and other debts due by the king to the family. All that Scotland could give was but as a drop thrown

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* Sir John Chiesly, though originally a virulent Covenanter, made the most humble submission to the king at the Restoration, which has been passed over silently, according to his custom, by Wodrow, among whose MSS. is preserved the following letter from Lauderdale to Primrose:—

"My Lord,

"I have been earnestly spoke to by my Lord Chamberlain, and diverse English of quality, in favour of Sir John Chieslie; and knowing by the bearer that he hath great confidence of your favour, I could not refuse my commendation of him to you. He professeth great loyalty and duty to his majesty, and freely confesses his former faults, which swayes most with me. I shall add no further, but that I am your lordship's affectionate servant,

"Lauderdale.

"*Whitehall, 29th Dec.*"

into the vast treasures the English parliament levied, and truely as little for the honour of Scotland, as it did service to the king. Also, on June 28, the councill enacted, that all schollars, to take degrees in universities, should either take the oath of supremacy or losse their degree. This was the bishops' policy, with a sinfull oath to corrupt the spirits of the youth of Scotland, and in this they hade but too great successe. No man might either buy or sell without the beast's mark; but they only consulted to cast a man down from his excellency, as the fallen Angels tempted man.

Upon the 7th of December this year, our councill emitt two proclamations more. One was for the constitution of presbytries; but that dangerous name they would not use, howbeit the curats up and down for their own credit used it still. The proclamation deriving the power from the king's supremacy, allowes the bishops to depute such a number of their curats as they judged qualified to conveen for exercise, and to assist in discipline as the bishop should direct. But he kept alwayes to himself the power of censure, except rebuke; neither suspension, deprivation, nor excommunication might they touch; and, in effect, they were no more but the bishops' spyes and informers. This was the constitution of their episcopal presbytrie: So the bishop, under his hand, granted a deputation to his curats, and sometimes the number was very small: for elders they allowed none, and so they conveened in their first meetings. Now what a plant this was in the Lord's house a man may easily judge. The root was a popish king, who hade given his power to the beast; the stock was a perjured bishop, acting as the king's minister or servant; the curats the branches. How could the fruit be edification? Indeed it was destruction, wormwood, and gall, informations, and prosecutions. The other proclamation first extends all censures laid upon the young ministers who hade been

turned out at Glasgow, to all the old ministers turned out by the bishops since that day; that was, to command them all to keep their distances from towns and bishops' seats. Next, it discharges any Scots man to let a house in any place of Scotland to any presbyterian minister; that was, that they might starve in the fields for lack of shelter; but, to make all sure, they join hunger to cold, discharging any man to grant them charity or supply of any sort.

All the persecutors of the world may learn from this act how to destroy, and such another as this is not to be found among the heathen ten persecutions, nor yet in Bohemia, Savoy, or France. But this was according to Bishop Burnet's desire, who affirmed, the only way to convert a phanatick was to starve him. The Earle of Kelly, tho' no great friend to presbyterians, said, they would doe well to make these ministers wear a badge, otherwayes he might both set them house and lands. This was the 6th persecuting proclamation. These men bore alwayes worse and worse. About this time Sir John Nisbit was made advocate in place of Fletcher, a man of far more dangerous temper; for money might sometimes have hired Fletcher to spare blood, but Nisbit was always so sore afraid of lossing his own great estate, he could never in his own opinion be officious enough to serve his cruel masters. The presbyterian ministers were at this time quiet; they hade permission, or rather connivance, to live in their houses, and the call of the importunate multitude was not yet common; so, except to preach to their families or some few neighbours, little more they did. Yet among them some there were who went up and down the mountains among these people who altogether refused to hear the curats; and among the first of these were Mr John Welsh and Mr Gabriel Semple,* who is yet alive, and there-

* "For trash, or any earthly thing,
We never did oppose the king,

fore of him I shall say nothing. But as for the other, he must have ane extraordinary character, as he hade ane extraordinary province. He was grandchild to that incomparible man, Mr John Welsh, minister at Air; his father, Mr Josias, was likewise ane excellent gospel minister, and, because of his mighty rousing wakening preaching gift, he was called by the people in the north of Ireland, THE COCK OF THE NORTH. This Mr Welsh was a godly, meek, humble man, and a good popular preacher; but the boldest undertaker that ever I heard a minister in Christ's church, old or late; for, notwithstanding of all the threats of the state, the great price sett upon his head, the spyte of the bishops, the diligence of all blood-hounds, he maintained his difficult post of preaching upon the mountains of Scotland, many times to many thousands, for near 20 years time, and yet was alwayes kept out of his enemies' hands. It is well known that bloody Clavers, upon intelligence that he was lurking in some secret place, would have ridden 40 miles in a winter night, yet when he came to the place he alwayes missed his prey. I have known him ryde 3 dayes and 2 nights without sleep, and preach upon a mountain at midnight in one of the nights. He used to say to his friends, who counselled him to be more wary, that he believed God would preserve him so long as he continued among dangers, but that whenever he should betake himself to safety, then his time should come: which accordingly came to pass; for after Bothwel Bridge, when all people forsook field-meetings, he went to London, and there died; but was honourably burried near the king's palace,

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Yea, all of us, both great and small,
Will quit him lives, and lands, and all,
So he give way to purge the temple,
As pleaseth Mr Gabriel Semple."

Whig's Supplication.

as was his grandfather.* This year also the presbyterians lost one of their pillars, Mr William Guthrie, minister at Fennick, one of the most eloquent, successfull popular preachers that ever was in

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* Welch's escapes from Claverhouse and his other pursuers were very extraordinary, though he rode to his conventicles accompanied by a number of armed men, called Mr Welch's body guard, and had all the fanatick country women, who usually acted as scouts to give warning of the enemy's approach, most sincerely at his devotion. Ladies too, of a better fashion, were studious of his personal safety, while they frequented his field-meetings; and sometimes made their husbands pay dearly for "a hearty smack of the sweetness of the gospel, according to Peter Walker, which they got in those good days." Wodrow mentions "a very severe prosecution of a worthy lady, 1679.—Sir William Fleming of Fern and his lady appear before the council, and a libel is read at the instance of his majesty's advocate, bearing, that whereas Mr John Welch and some others having kept a conventicle at Langside, in the parish of Cathcart, upon Feb. 9 last; and Dame Margaret Stewart, spouse to Sir William Fleming of Fern, commissary of Glasgow, and ——— Macdougal, spouse to William Anderson, late provost of Glasgow, were present at the said field-conventicle, upon high chairs on either side of Mr John Welch, and kept company with the said Mr Welch at other times; the premises being verified, their said husbands be decerned to pay to the treasury the fines they have incurred." Sir William's fine was 4000 merks. In Blackadder's Memoirs is a prodigious eulogium on the wonderful sanctity and eloquence of Welch, with sundry instances of his powerful preaching; after which follows this anecdote. "Another passage I relate, as I remember, from the person herself; a young gentlewoman and cuzine of his, who lived in Fife, and I suppose had not seen him before hearing him, one day was put to such admiration at the power which attended the word that she professed she exceeded, giving him higher esteem than his due; she hearing that he was to preach on a week-day following at Kinnanachar, did cheerfully resort thither with the rest, nothing doubting but to find Mr Welch as she found him the day before, perswading herself that the morrow should be as the other day, and much more abundant; but her disappointment was such, that she found nothing like the former, but rather more straitened than another man, (which was also observed by others) and tho' it was a vexing temptation for the time, yet she protested she got as much edification in that disappointment as she had got in the former, and occasion of humiliation, by seeing her own folly, doting on the creature instrument, and not giving

Scotland, a godly man, and died a sufferer, (for he was deposed by the bishops,) but in hope that the Lord would one day deliver Scotland from her thraledome.

Doctor Alexander Burnet was at this time Bishop of Glasgow, a man of the best morals among them, (setting aside his simonaick regress to his bishoprick after he hade been turned out of it,) but a most zealous biggot for the English superstitions, and was as foreward to have them establisht in Scotland as any among them. At his first diocesian meeting, he received and ordained 5 or 6 curats by the form of the English pontifical, designing them priests, and making them kiss the Bible. He was so great ane oppressor of the city of Glasgow in the choice of their magistrates, that he oblidged the greatest malignants in the town, the Bells and Campbells, to protest against him. This man was chief director of the persecution of the west countrey, and found the spirit of his underlings the curats as foreward as his own. Truely at this time the curats' auditories were reasonable throng; the body of the people in most places of Scotland waited upon their preachings; and if they would have been content with what they hade, (in the opinion of many) they might have stood longer than they did, but their pride vowed they would be more glorious and better followed than the presbyterians; and because respect would not doe it, force should. Sir James Turner hade made ane expedition to the west countrey to subdue it to the bishops (just as the Spainyard

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the glory of the power to God, whose gracious countenance and assistance alone made the difference between Mr Welch and another minister; and was convinced it was her duty afterwards to cease from man, look more to, and depend on God alone for the efficacy, and to esteem of instruments as the ministers of Christ, and no more but servants; and having there got him set only in his own room, she with many others heard him afterwards to much more advantage: which passage I mark for others' edification."

went to America) in the year 1664; another in the year 1665; and a third in the year 1666; and this was the worst. The curats, with two or three souldiers, fyned whom they would, and even as they thought good. They spared not the gentleman, if his wife, or servants, or tennants, withdrew from the curats, tho' himself attended most punctually; nor yet the tennant, if the landlord withdrew, tho' they themselves attended. They spared not the widow and the fatherless, nor the bedrid, or the beggar who was forced to beg his fyne, that he might pay them; they snatcht the meat from the childeren, that they might give it to their dogs; they quartered in houses till they destroyed their substance, and burnt the furniture; they chased the husband from the wife, and the wife from the husband; many a family they scattered, and in one poor paroch (Irongray) no lesse than 16. If the poor people complained to their officers, they were beaten; if to the state, they were neglected; and indeed some of our great men cared not how odious the bishops made themselves. In a short time they gathered of a few countrey people the sume of 50,000 lib. Scots, which was thought a great sume at that time. But ere the bishops hade done, I knew a gentleman payed thrice the sume for his own land. There are several lists made of the particulars in this violent persecution. This made the curats and bishops, if they were formerly loathed because of their perjury and profaneness, to be absolutely abhorred, not only by the sufferers, but by every honest ingenious person; and their own counsels and practise ruined them a great deal more than the industry of all the field preachings, but this course they would take.

Beside these fines imposed by the curats, there was another sort of fynes levied upon the poor people of Scotland at this time, and that was, the fynes imposed by Middleton in his second session of parliament. The king suspended the payment of them when Middleton was turned out; thereafter they were divided into 2 moye-

ties, and a day fitted for the payment of the first moyetie; and all that were able and well-informed payed their first moyetie and took their discharge; others payed none at that time; so there were new appointments made for paying these moyeties, till at length all that were fyned were appointed to make payment betwixt and the day in this year, 1666. When that was past, the councill referred it to the commissioner to take his own way to collect them, and his way was this: He sent abroad the troupers of the life-guard with a list of the names of so many as they were to cause pay, requireing them to quarter upon the people fyn'd till they hade payed the last farthing; excepting only those who should take the oath of supremacy and the declaration publickly in a court, and to such the one half of the fyne was remitted, otherwayes all was exacted, and with rigour. In the west, many poor commons (beside noblemen and gentlemen) were fyned, and their way was, as soon as the wicked troupers were come into their house, to goe borrowe the money to pay the fyne; but this did not satisfie the cruel messengers, till first they behoved to run to Edinburgh and report the receiver's discharge, and there satisfie the troupers for their pains beside, and this exaction they called their rideing money; so that sometimes the troupers' rideing money was a greater sume than the fyne itself. And beside all the money of the fyne, the two shires of Air and Renfrew payed three thousand merks a-day for a considerable time. No excuse was allowed, no defence sustained, except only that the party fyned had taken the oath and declaration before the day prefixed; and some did this, but not many. Some offered to renunce the benefit of the indemnity and undergoe a tryal at law, as being free of all acts of rebellion, (and this was the only certification in the act of parliament;) but it satisfied not the troopers,—all must pay; only these who could neither entertain troupers nor provide money were hal'd to prison, where some

of them lay long upon the king's charges. Indeed there were some so extreamly poor, that when the troupers mett a beggar in the streets, they would ask in jest if he were a fyned person. However, vast sumes were collected. Sir William Bruce was receiver, and his fees were so great as to enable a broken man to buy land and build palaces.* Our grandees hoped well to have divided this spoil, but they were deceived, for it came to another use. Mean time people's spirits were so imbittered they became desperate, and alike grieved with the civil as they hade been with the ecclesiastick government; and because oppression makes a wise man mad, no

* This alludes to the house of Kinross, built by Sir William Bruce, whose eldest son, Sir John, married the Lady Christian Lesley, daughter of John Duke of Rothes, and widow of James, third Marquis of Montrose. The following curious notice respecting their nuptials is to be found in an anonymous letter, addressed to the Rev. Mr Robert Wyllie, among the Wodrow MSS. "1687, We have at lenth, on Saturday last, at 8 at night, had my Lady Marquis of Montrose marry'd in her own lodgings, to whom therin I sincerelie wish much joy; tho' truly she hath had non of her former husband's relations, nor any of her own, except a youth of 15 yeares, Kilbirnie, to wish her so much. But the lady hath taken strong heart, and carys joy enough in her countenance, and indeed I do not suspect her guiltie of dissimulation therein. Sir Charles Halket and Sir William Bruce came heir on Sunday's night to bid her joy, and she is to go from this to Kinros for good and all upon Wednesday. She lookes, now that she is free of her sables, alse faire and graceſull as ever, has gained an huge respect from all persons by that debonnaire temper, which, with other qualifications, she deriveth from her father, and appeares to be blist from heaven with as stretching a temper towards her circumstances as any person I know. A most fonde wife she was to her former husband, a most passionate mourner for him, and each year keipt the day of his death, which she solemnized with floodes of teares. Wednesday last was the day for this year, how she performed the usual ceremonies of the day I know not, the Lady Craighall wold doubtless something divert; but on Thursday she did me the honour of a visite, and really she bare the countenance of one that had been afflicted the day before; and now that she is marryed, she appeares alse joyfull and fonde a bryde as any in the kingdome."

wonder if poor common people, miserable and desperate, began to desire rest, and (as it hath been most ordinary in Scotland, where the people are as impatient of tyrranie as the kings have loved to be arbitrary,) think and talk of vindicating themselves, if possible. But as poor weak people are soon moved (it may be) to undertake, so these that are wise need neither trust nor fear them, because they use to be as unconstant as rash.

However, at this time Bishop Sharp posts to court, and, because his designs were so odious, he cared not to advance them by violence. And the high commission being now dissolved, he resolves a standing army; and violent souldiers would be ane instrument very proper for such a hand as his own. So the king is perswaded, and (it may be) easily enough, to raise ane army for suppressing the phanaticks, guarding the bishops, and executing arbitrary commands. Thomas Dalyell, Laird of Bins, is imployed to command in chief. He was a man both rude and fierce for his natural disposition, and this hade been much confirmed by his breeding and service in Muscovia, where he hade the command of a small army, and saw nothing but tyrranie and slavery. He lived so, and died so strangely, it was commonly believed he was in covenant with the Devil: but he must be the bishops' generall.* Next to him was

* "One William Hannah was brought before the council, and when pleading he was too old to banish, Dalyell told him roughly, he was not too old to hang; he would hang well enough. This was amongst the last of his public *manœuvres*: for that same day, August 22, when at his beloved exercise, drinking wine, while the cup was at his head, he fell down (being in perfect health) and expired." *God's Justice exemplified in his Judgements upon Persecutors.*—Lord Fountainhall, in his Diary, notes, "General Dalyell buried (who dyed suddenly) splendidly, after the military form, being attended by the standing forces, and six piece of cannon drawn before his herse, with his led horse and his generall's battoon, August, 1685."

William Drummond, brother to the Lord Madertie, a man of better breeding than the other, but of very high designes. And under them, beside the large troop of guards divided into two, and Lith-

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General Dalyell, the son of Thomas Dalyell of Binns, descended from the family of Carnwath, was born about 1599; at an early period of life he adopted the military profession, and adhered to the cause of Charles I. He commanded at Carrickfergus in Ireland, and was there taken prisoner, 1650; again, 1651, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, and carried to the Tower, from whence he escaped; after which his estates were forfeited, and himself exempted from the general act of indemnity. Charles the Second recommended Dalyell, for his eminent courage and fidelity, to Prince Radzivil, the King of Poland, and other foreign dignitaries, in the years 1655 and 1656. The Czar of Muscovy, Alexis Michaelovitch, under whose banner he fought courageously against the Turks and Tartars, for his great bravery and military conduct, promoted him to the rank of general, and on his return to Scotland, ordered a testimony of his services, in the most honourable terms, to pass the great seal. "He was bred up very hardy from his youth," says Captain Creichton, "both in dyet and cloathing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey-coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of King Charles I. In my time, his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle. He usually went to London once or twice a year, and then only to kiss the king's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure, when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys, and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas, as he went to court, or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go into the king; and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again, and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the Park, attended by some of his courtiers, and Dalyell in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, shewing their admiration of his beard and dress, so that the king could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his majesty bid the devil take Dalyell, for bringing such a rabble of boys together, to have their guts squeezed out, while they gaped at his long beard and antic habit, requesting him, at the same time, (as Dalyell used to express it) to shave and dress like

gow's regiment of foot, there were levied 2 regiments of foot and 6 troops of horse; the one foot regiment was commanded by Dalyell himself, the other by the Lord Newburgh. The troops of horse

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other Christians, to keep the poor bairns out of danger: all this could never prevail on him to part with his beard, but yet, in compliance to his majesty, he went once to court in the very height of the fashion; but as soon as the king and those about him had laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he re-assumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable dress."—The accusation of being a wizard, Dalyell shared with almost all the active loyalists of his time; whom, however, if we can trust the author of God's Judgements, he so far exceeded in "devilish sophistry, that he sometimes beguiled the devil; or rather, his master suffered himself to be outwitted by him." He has also been denounced as a person of manners singularly rude and brutal, chiefly because at an examination of whigs before the privy council, he struck one Garnock (who had railed against him as "a Muscovia beast, that roasted men,") with the pomel of his sword, till the blood sprang. But it should be remembered that soldiers are not wont to bear such epithets tamely. "By my troth, captain, these are very bitter words;" and, moreover, at that period, a liberality in bestowing of blows was practised by the higher ranks towards their inferiors, now scarcely credible. In almost every comedy of that age, the fine gentleman, as he is called, beats his valet-de-chambre, and generally his whole household, whenever a fit of ill humour incites him to exercise his cane; and this brutality must have commonly prevailed, else it would not have been suffered on the stage. In the MS. Sermons of Mr Hugh Mackaile, is a passage concerning conjugal correction, which bears upon this point, and is here printed at length, as the disquisition is highly edifying and important, putting what regards the chastisement of inferiors entirely out of the question:—

"Particularlie learn that a husband may not stryk his wyf. Wee reid of the correction of children and *servants, because they are under a more servil subjection.* But no word of the wyf's correction, because her subjection is not servil, but frie; shee being made of a rib of his syde, and not of a bone out of his foot. Objection. May not a man draw blood of himself for his health? Answer. Of a legge or arme, why not? but not of his heart, and a man's wyf is his heart. Obj. Does not Christ correct his kirk? Ans. Christ is not onlie the kirk's husband, but her absolut Lord and King over her, as no husband is over his wyf; therfor as Job reproved his wyf, so may hee, but no stry-

were bestowed upon our greatest lords, as Duke Hamilton, Earle Annandale, Airly, Kincardin.

In all, the army made 3000 foot and 8 troops of horse. They were soon levied and mustured, and commanded absolutely to obey Dalyell; and because the fynes were the fond upon which they were to be maintained, the exchequer is commanded to reckon with the new general for every farthing of them, to be applyed for souldiers' pay. So both the Middletonians who imposed them, and the Lauderdalians who exacted them, were quite disappointed, though both the one and the other hade devoured them in their imagination and hope. This same moneth, Mr Robert Blair, that godly and able minister, departed this life in his confynement, whither he was sent by the state at the bishops' request. He was a man of great piety, ability, and high experience; and tho' he died a sufferer, yet he died full of hope that the Lord would deliver Scotland, and very confident God would rub shame (as he expressed it) upon Bishop Sharp, as it came to pass.

Upon the 3d of September following, begane the fire which consumed London. Upon this there were more disputes and debates than conclusions and resolutions. But the discourse of the coun-

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king. Obj. What if a woman be verie stubburn? Ans. A man in this case hath to look what end he had before him in his choice; and if to gett his eye and his hand filled hath been his maine end, he must drink as he hath brewin, and seik to be humbled, and to walk so as hee give his partie no offence or matter of irritation to make her worse. And if hee be conscious hee hath acknowledged God in his choice, and yet hee is dissappoynted of his expectation, hee is to pray to God for his wyf, and tak upe his crosse, and beir it after Christ. And if shee be so stubburn that there is no cohabiting with her, ther are both civil and ecclesiastick censures. The magistrat is custos utriusque tabulæ; and if a brother or sister walk inorderlie, they are to be noted, and proceedit against by the censures of the kirk."—*An Abridgment of the Sermons upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, preached at Irvin by Mr* HEW MACKAILE, *before* 1649.

trey was, that as it highly encouraged popish designes, being indeed the bulwark of the protestant interest in Brittain, so the papists were very glade of it. And King James making it manifast King Charles was a secret papist, it was believed he was not sad, though a poor distracted fellow (Hubert) was execute for it, to colour secret joy with publick zeal. It was also observed, that Doctor Creichton, a man both bold and eloquent, preaching upon a solemn festival day before king and court, after he hade boldly affirmed the cause of that burning was the martyrdome of the late king, which could not otherwayes be purged but by burning the guilty city, was so deserted in his work he could speak no more, to the astonishment of all that heard him, which many thought was a testimony against his lyeing.

I come now to the lamentable story of ane unsuccessfull attempt made by some of these poor tempted people in the west countrey, and thus I received it from the most understanding upon the party. Sir James Turner and his ruffians continued his oppression and violence till the countrey was near ruined, many families scattered, both gentlemen and others were forced to flee their dwellings, and lurk in mountains and mosses till November 13th; which day being Tuesday, four countrey men coming from their wanderings towards the old town of Dalry to seek refreshment after long fasting, mett providentially upon the highway with 3 or 4 souldiers dryving before them a company of poor neighbour men to compell them to thresh the corns of a poor old countrey man, (who hade fled from his own house himself,) that out of his corns they might make money to satisfy his church fynes, as they were called.* This

* Sir James Turner, in his Memoirs, positively declares, that he never exacted more than one half of his fine from any Covenanter.

troubled the poor countrey men very much, yet they passed it in silence, till, coming to the house where they expected refreshment, they were informed the souldiers hade seized the poor old man, and were about to bind him and set him bare upon a het iron gird-iron, there to torment him in his own house. Upon this they run to relieve the poor man, and coming to his house, desired the souldiers to let the poor man goe, which the souldiers refused, and so they fell to words; whereupon two of the souldiers rushing out of the chamber with drawn swords, and making at the countrey men, hade almost killed two of them behind their backs, and unawares; the countrey men having weapons, one of them discharged his pistoll, and hurt one of the souldiers with the piece of a tobacco pipe, with which he hade loaded his pistoll instead of ball. This made the souldiers deliver their armes and prisoner.* Now the poor countrey men are

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* "This was a story," says Burnet, "made only to beget compassion; for after the insurrection was quash'd, the privy council sent some round the country to examine the violences that had been committed, particularly in the parish where it was given out that this was done. I read the report they made to the council, and all the depositions that the people of the country made before them; but this was not mentioned in any one of them."—The wounded soldier told Sir James Turner that he was shot because he would not take the covenant. TURNER'S *Mem. MS.*—It has generally been understood, that this man died shortly after; but the following petition, discovered among the Linlithgow papers, proves the contrary.

"*To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Councill, the humble Petition of George Deanes, Corporall in Sir Alex. Thomson's Companie.*

"Whereas your lordships' petitioner, about the middle of November, 1666, was set upon in the parish of Dalry by a number of the late rebells, and after other inhuman usage, was barbarouslie shot in the bodie with a great many pieces of tobacco pipes, ten

engadged, and in as great danger as they could be; this they knew very well, and therefore resolve to goe through with it; and because there were about a dozen of souldiers in another place oppressing the same paroch, lest they should be destroyed by these they resolve to prevent them; and next morning, with the attendance of other six or seven countrey men who joyned them, they seize these dozen of souldiers also; all of them quietly rendered their armes save one, who making resistance, was killed. Upon this the countrey takes the alarm, and being all of them certain Sir James Turner and his souldiers would avenge this affront in his own cruel way, and make the innocent suffer with the guilty, the countrey people gather to the number of 50 horsemen of the countrey men, and some few foot men, resolving to be before hand with Sir James; and thereupon

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whereof afterward were by the surgeon's care taken out; and in that manner, with little or no hope of life, carried to Drumfries, in which toune, as also in Glasgow, your petitioner lay long bed fast, under the care of chirurgeons, who hath of a long time demanded, and still doth demand payment, from your petitioner, he haveing given them bond for the same; the griefe of which misfortune occasioned the sickness and death of your petitioner's poore wife, which had followed him out of her oune countrey, and much assisted him to gaine his livelihood, whereby your petitioner is driven to great want, his pay not being sufficient to maintene him and pay the surgeons, and make up the losses of severall things taken from him by the rebells; and seeing it hath pleased your lordships' very noblie and generouslie to bestow recompences and gratuities on others who hath suffered by the said rebells, in that manner as your petitioner hath done, whereby you have not onlie encouraged them, but all other loyall subjects, to hazard the losse of their lives and blood in his majesty's service. May it therfor please your lordships to take your lordships' petitioner his sad condition to your serious consideration, that ane allowance, according to your lordships' good pleasure, may be given him, as hath been given to his fellow-sufferers; and your lordships' petitioner shall ever pray," &c. &c.

march streight towards Dumfries Cross, and there, forsooth, drink the king's good health,—a labour they might well have spared, for they hade cruel thanks. Such was the beginning of this insurrection, ane occasional tumult upon a sudden fray, and this was the preamble to the purpose. Sir James was taken upon Nov. 15th; and he who was chief in the party that took him was one Andrew Gray, ane Edinburgh merchant, who immediatly deserted them, as did many more, tho' so many kept still together as were the beginning of the small army which gathered to them.* Indeed, while

* On coming to Dumfries the rebels searched for the episcopal clergyman, but he had fled. They secured Turner's papers, and a sum of money sent from Edinburgh to pay the troops, together with part of the fines for nonconformity, which had been recently exacted. This money they entrusted to Andrew Gray, who afterwards absconded with the whole. The Rev. Andrew Symson, minister of Kirkinner, in the preface to his singular poem, Tripatriarchicon, or the Lives of the Three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, gives the following account of Gray from a Journal written by "*an inquisitive person*," who was present with the insurgents during the *whole campaign*. "November 15th, 1666, betwixt 8 and 9 in the morning, one who called himself Captain Gray, being attended with several armed men, seized on Sir James Turner at Dumfries, together with a coffer of his, wherein were baggs of money, cloaths, and papers; whereupon, after they had taken himself, his money, papers, horses, arms, cloaths, and linnens, they marched in haste away from thence, and came that night to Glencairn, and thence to Castle Ferne. On the 16th they came to the Old Clachan of Dalry, and at night Captain Gray and Sir James were lodged at Mr Chalmers of Waterside's house. Captain Gray, about 11 or 12 o'clock at night, being allarmed with a report that the Earl of Annandale, Lord Drumlangrig, and some others, were coming against him, he marched immediately, though the night was very dark and raining, and the way very bad, 8 miles to Carsphairn, where, having committed Sir James to the charge of 16 horsemen, he retired with the money and baggage he had got at Dumfries, so quietly, that he was never seen by any of his own party after that. My author in his manuscript, I remember, tells, that although he made strict inquiry concerning him, yet he got no other answer from those of his own party but that they

they continued in Galloway, tho' that countrey hade suffered most, and tho' their oppression was the quarrel, yet their number was still very small, not exceeding three hundred, the diverse landed men and heritors hade joyned them.

The commissioner Rothes hade taken journey to London a day or two before the success at Dalry; and therefore, when he came to London, he knew nothing of it. So as soon as he came into the king's presence, the king askt him, What news from Scotland? He answered, None but good. Then the king gave him the letter he hade received from his councill by ane express, bearing the news of the horrid rebellion, (as it was called,) which much astonished Rothes. But in the time of Rothes his absence, it fell the Archbishop of St Andrews to preside in the councill, even tho' it was a time of warre, which made some of our lords both grumble and curse, Hade they no body to give them orders but a priest? Alwayes, the first thing the councill did upon the news was to command Dalyell and the army to march westward to suppress the rebells; and him they accompany with a severe proclamation, commanding all the rebells in armes to lay down their armes within 24 hours after the publication of the proclamation, but without any promise of indemnity, (which is usuale and necessary in such cases,) and this was just to command to come to the scaffold. Moreover, they command all the subjects in Scotland to assist the general with

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knew nothing of him, except that he called himself Captain Gray, and that he had brought an order with him to them all to obey him."—Of the insurrection itself, Symson observes, that it is not his business to give an account as to the *true causes,* " or to enquire whether it were only accidental, upon the account that one of Sir James Turner's souldiers was wounded by Barscob at the Old Clachan, or whether it was contrived some time before."

all their power, under the pain of rebellion, which made many joyn him sore against their conscience. When the news came first to Edinburgh that the people in Galloway were in armes, one evening some of them being together, after prayer the question was stated, What they judged their duty in the present juncture? And after several discourses, because it was late, they adjourn the meeting to Mr Alexander Robison's chamber, at seven in the next morning; where being conveened, and having prayed, the question was resumed. All there present agreed it was their duty to assist their poor brethren so cruelly oppresst; only Ferguson of Katloch seemed unclear to appear at that time. However, the rest engadged presently; and among them was Collonel James Wallace and Mr John Welsh, beside Mr Robison, who was also a preacher. The collonel resolved for the west presently; but Mr Robison (who was a very resolute man) assured him, that in the paroch of Libberton there were 40 well-mounted horsemen, who were ready to joyn them; upon which the collonel went thither, and found all the 40 shrink down to 7 or 8. However, with these they made towards Lintoun, where the collonel with his company made in all about 80 horse. Thereabout the collonel sent off Mr Robison, with some two or three, toward Lesmahegow to make preparation, being himself to follow him thither; and thereafter he and his company went first to Dunsyre, and then to the place where Mr Robison hade promised to await the collonel, but he found him in another place, and there all the company stayed for one night, being Sabbath. At night they heard that William Lochart of Wirkatshaw, with a party of Carluke men, and diverse others, were marched towards the party in Galloway. Thereafter the collonel made towards Machline, resolving to take Captain Robert Lockhart's house in the way, because there he hoped to find Mr Robison; but when he came there, he found both the captain and him were gone to the main body:

So the collonel and his company advance in their journey. And when they came to Evandale, there they heard the first news of Blackwood his desireing to speak with the collonel, or to understand his design and motions; and thereafter proceed toward Machline. By the way they overtook Captain Arnot, a brother of the Laird of Lochrigge, with a company of Clidsedale men, all going the same way: So all goe on to Machline together upon Tuesday at night. But when they were there, they were informed that the body of their friends were gone to Air, and thereupon resolve to follow them thither. Their mistaken hopes made them expect, that when they came to that countrey all the gentry and ministry should presently joyn them; but when they come hither, they find Major-General Montgomrie and the Laird of Gadgirth (of whom they expected great matters) were both gone to meet Dalyell at Eglinton, and the ministers living quietly in their families. This offended the collonel's party very much, that friends in the countrey should be so little concerned. The friends in the countrey were as much grieved with the undertaking, believing it to be unadvised, and fearing it would be unsuccessfull. But at length the collonel and his party arrive at Air, and there they found the body of their friends at a rendivouze beyond the bridge of Doone, whither, as they were marching, word came from some in Cunninghame, that they desired some might be sent to bring them up, for they feared to come alone; upon which the collonel sent Captain Arnot, with 40 horse, to further them, and thereafter he, with his party, joyned the main body at the rendivouze. This was upon the Wedensday; and there they hade certain intelligence Dalyell and his army were at Glasgow; upon which the whole body resolve their next rendivouze shall be at Ochiltree, where they mett, and Mr Gabriel Semple preacht; and there they put themselves first in form of ane army, quartering their body conveniently, and setting their guard.

Thither came Mr John Guthrie to them, with a small party of Torbolton men. There they conveened their councill; and there, after prayer, it was resolved, that forasmuch as they could expect no more assistance from the south or from the west, (excepting Captain Arnot's expected company,) therefore it would be their best to march eastward toward Clidsedale; fearing, if they continued longer there, the enemy might attack them before they were in case, and because they expected assistance in that countrey. So they turn eastward; first, toward Cumnock upon the Friday; and then they heard John Ross and his party was broke by Duke Hamilton's troop, and that the enemy was drawing near them. There upon that same day, in a most tempestuous rainy evening, they sett foreward toward Moorkirk of Kyle, through a miserable deep moore, so that they came not to their quarters till two houres within night. Their poor souldiers were drouckt with rain as if they hade been dragged through a river; their foot were forced, wet as they were, to lodge in the church without any meat, and very little fire to drie them. That night Mr Andrew Macormock (commonly called the goodman) came to Collonel Wallace, being then commander-in-chief of the whole small body, to tell him it was the opinion of Captain Robert Lockhart and Mr Alexander Robison that they should follow that bussiness no further, but dismiss the people in the fairest manner they could. This they communicat also to Mr Gabriel Semple, a man of great authority among that party, and this they urged with all earnestness. Nothing was done about this that night; and to-morrow, being Saturday, they marched to Douglass, and by the way received Captain Arnot with his Cunninghame supply, which, instead of the 200 promised, amounted not to 40. Alwayes, that night they arrived at Douglass; and having sett their guards, (because they were all armed,) they went to counsell about Robert Lockhart's proposal and desire. After prayer, when

the whole heads of their party were together, the question was stated, Whether they should scatter or continue in armes? The ministers first gave their opinion, and afterwards the commanders. All agreed in this, that they believed the Lord hade called them to this undertaking, and that they would not goe till he who bid them come should likewayes command them to goe; that the Lord needed not men, and that they were assured they were a handfull of men in whom the Lord was concerned. If these who hade encouraged them to this enterprize, and promised to assist, should fail, to themselves be it said. As for them, they were resolved; and that tho' they should die at the end of it, a testimony for the Lord were a sufficient reward for all their labour and loss. So Captain Lockhart and Mr Robison's proposal was rejected, tho' they were both friends and of their party. Two other questions were agitate among them also: one was about renewing the covenant to-morrow, being the Sabbath-day, at some church, one or other. To this all agreed unanimously. The other was, Whether to put Sir James Turner to death or not? (him they carried alwayes about with them, not being masters of any prison in all Scotland.) About this question they divided, many being for the affirmative, but more for the negative: So he escapt. When morning was come, they marched toward Lanerk, by Lesmahagow, and closs by Robert Lockhart's house, but neither he nor Mr Robison appeared; yet by the way Knockbreck's two sons, with some few from Galloway, overtook them, and told them there were no more to come, tho' they hade been otherwayes informed. And here this day they compleated the modell of their poor army, appointing officers to every company, and of these they were very scarce. That Sabbath night they came to Lanerk, sett their guards, and intimated to the people of the place that to-morrow they were to renew the covenant, which

they believed would be ane oblidgeing practise, tho' few or none of the town joyned with them; such a terror there was upon the spirits even of their greatest friends, as indeed Lanerk was. To-morrow morning word comes that the general was within two myles of them; upon which some were for delaying the renewing of the covenant, but it was carried in the contrare. So, after they hade sent out their scouts, the foot gathered together upon the High-street, and Mr John Guthrie, standing upon the Tolbooth staires, preached to them, and thereafter read the covenant, to which they all engaged solemnly, with uplifted hands, and great affection. The horse conveened at the town-head, where Mr Gabriel Semple and Mr John Crookshanks preached, and then read and renewed the covenant in like manner. Mr Semple, in his sermon, cited and applied Prov. 24—11, 12, which much affected the people, and, it may be, perswaded some to joyn them. Here this rolling snow-ball was at the biggest, having received all the supply they could expect in the west. Their number when here was judged to be near 3000 men, one and other, but neither armed nor ordered; yet many thought that if they would fight, they hade best have foughten there, because their defeat and scattering among their friends hade been more safe than among their enemies. Thither came Major Kilgour, and Mr John Scot, minister at Hauick, to have joyned them; but when they saw their order and discipline, they suddenly withdrew. Thither also came William Lowrie of Blackwood. They believed he came to joyn them; but he told them he came only from Duke Hamilton to commune with them, and to see what they desired, and whether they would lay down their armes. He addrest himself most to Mr Semple, and never desired a meeting with the officers. This offended the collonel much; so keeping at a distance from one another, he withdrew without a good night, and some

of them were offended they hade not made him prisoner.* Meantime all the countrey was in armes; every sheriff mustured the heritors; all were ready to suppresse the rebellion, as they called it. They made a report run, that 40 ships, with ane army from

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* This Lowrie, alias Weir of Blackwood, was supposed to have carried on a secret correspondence with the Pentland insurgents; as he afterwards did with those who were defeated at Bothwell Bridge.—"*Nov.* 22. 1682. At privy council, William Lowrie, elder of Blackwood, late chamberlain to the Marquis of Douglas, and repute a bad instrument between him and his lady in their differences, is imprisoned for harbouring and resetting fugitive ministers, and convening with rebels who had been at Bothwell Bridge, and other intercommuned persons, and for receiving mail and duty from them. He was referred to the criminal court, to be pursued there by his majesty's advocate, for these treasonable deeds." FOUNTAINHALL'S *Decisions*.—In the criminal court the lords found the ditty relevant to infer treason. "Though this interlocutor is of a most dangerous consequence, yet it could not have happened to any that was less regretted or worse beloved than Blackwood." He was tried, and sentenced to be beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh. "This seeming rigorous procedure with Blackwood," continues Fountainhall, "who had been very wary, cautious, and circumspect in his walking, (tho' of disaffected principles) frightened and alarmed many; for they considered that there were few in the six western shires but were more guilty of that sort of converse with those that had been at Bothwell Bridge than he: and now it was apparent that the chancellour and present government were resolved to put these laws rigourously in execution."—Lowrie was respited from time to time, and his sentence never put in execution. He seems to have been a man of but an indifferent character. "*July* 17, 1684. The Marquis of Douglas having got a letter from the king, by Queensberry's power, recommending to the judges the care of that antient family, and giving his son, the Lord Angus, a pension of *L.*200 sterling a-year to breed him, he pursues his step-mother, the Lady Sutherland, before the council, for an aliment out of her jointure of 12,000 merks per annum, seeing, deducing the annual rents of his debts, he had not behind to sustain his dignity. She spoke for herself a long time, and alledged it was hard, when apparent heirs mismanaged their estates, and suffered chamberlains (*this was against Blackwood*) and others to impose on them, that onerous provisions in contracts matrimonial should be burdened with them," &c.—FOUNTAINHALL'S *Dec. p.* 298.

Holland, were landed at Dumbar to assist the whiggs, (as they were called at that time,) and all this to render them odious. That Munday afternoon, Dalyell, with his army, came within sight of Lanerk ere they left it, and was above Stonebyres while they were in the town. Now they hade but little time to deliberat, a man would have thought for them to march eastward, would be taken for a plain flight, Dalyell following close upon their rear. But because some unhappy ignorants hade informed them that West-Lothian would rise and joyn them, and Edinburgh would befriend them, (than which nothing was lesse probable,) therefore, and chiefly upon the design of their private souldiers, they resolve for Edinburgh, and to take Bathgate in their way, where they expected their friends in that countrey. At this time Edinburgh is all in armes against them: Sir Andrew Ramsey, the provest, very active; not ane advocate almost but he is in his bandileers; the guards with the great guns planted at their gates. Yet so fatal it was for those poor people to embrace false intelligence, thereupon to found false hopes, and so to take their false measures, that to Bathgate they will goe that night, which was just to bring themselves into a net, and run upon the sword point. To Bathgate they came through pitifull broken moores in ane extraordinary dark and rainy night, and two houres after day-light was gone. No accommodation can they find there to men both wett, weary, and spent; and about twelve o'clock at night, upon ane alarm from the enemy, they are constrained to begine their march toward the New bridge, whither when they were come in the morning, they looked rather like dyeing men than souldiers going to conquer. It would have pitied a heart to see so many faint, weary, half-drowned, half-starved creatures betwixt their enemies behind and enemies before. That night it was believed they lossed more than the half of their poor army, who stuck in the clay, and fainted by the way; yet, as if they hade not been in dan-

ger enough then, further they will advance toward Edinburgh. So their next post they design shall be Collinton, within three miles of enemies before them, and five miles of ane army behind them at Calder, for thither was Dalyell come. As they were upon their way toward Collinton, Blackwood comes again with more express orders, and desire from the duke to advise them to lay down armes, upon hopes of ane indemnity the duke should procure; and Blackwood concurred with the duke in the same proposal, which they took very harsh. They gave him admonition to take heed to his way, and so they parted. That day, being Tuesday, to Collinton they came. And now, when they perceived their friends at Edinburgh stirred not, (all that they did, as also all their friends in the countrey, being only to fast and pray for them in secret, few being clear to take armes,) then they came to ane end of both hopes and counsells. Then comes the Laird of Barkskimin and Blackwood the third time to renew his former proposall, telling them also that he hade obtained the general's parol of honor for a cessation of armes till to-morrow morning, and that he hade undertaken as much for them, with which they were dissatisfied; but finding themselves in such a desperate case, at length they resolve to send a commissioner with Blackwood to Dalyell to treat with him. Blackwood told them their commissioner would not be acceptable, because he was ane outlaw; and then they resolve to write to the general with Blackwood himself. The letter was drawn and subscrivet by Collonel Wallace. It contained a representation of their oppressions and grievances, their design to petition the councill, desyreing a pass for their commissioner to carrie their petition to the secret councill, and that Blackwood might return to them his answer with all speed, as Blackwood hade promised to them to doe. Blackwood returned to Dalyell, and was by him sent to attend the

councill with his own letters, and the west countrey men's grievances. But notwithstanding this imperfitè treaty, Wallace and his party now at length resolve upon the retreat, and thereupon, turning the east end of Pentland hills, they take the way to Biggar.

They came that day from Collinton to the House of the Moore, and there, upon their fatal spot called the Rullion-green, they drew up their discouraged remnant, not exceeding 900 spent men. The reason they drew up was not in order to a battle, (for they were still in expectation of some peaceable conclusion from Blackwood's negotiation,) but only to view the state of their poor companies and prevent straggling; but as soon as they were in order, they found themselves called to another exercise. The way Wallace drew up his men was this: Upon the back of a long hill running from the south with a low shoulder toward the north, where it hade a high steep shoulder, he divided his men into three bodies; first, under the low shoulder upon the south, he placed a small body of horse, under the command of Barscob and the Galloway gentlemen; in the middle were the poor unarmed footmen, under his own command; and upon the left hand stood the greatest part of his horse, under Major Lermount. They were not well in order when alarme comes that a body of horse is approaching them. Some hoped it might have been their friends; but they quickly perceived it was Dalyell's van, who hade cut through the ridge of Pentland hills from Calder streight towards them, and were undiscovered till they were within a quarter of a myle over against them upon ane opposite hill, with a great descent betwixt them, so that they could not meet. After they hade viewed one another a long time, Dalyell sends out a party of 50 gallant horse to squint along the edge of the hills, and to attack their left hand; upon which Wallace commands Captain Arnot, with ane equal number of his horse, to receive them; so he

draws up towards them, and upon a piece of equal plain ground they meet. After they hade spent their fire, they close upon the sword point, and fought it stoutly for a considerable time, till at length, notwithstanding all their advantage, Dalyell's men run; and hade it not been for the difficultie of the ground, their losse hade been far greater than it was. Diverse fall on both sides; and of Arnot's party, Mr John Crookshanks and Mr Andrew Macormock, two Irish ministers, and the great instruments to perswade the people to this undertaking. After this Wallace advances a party of foot towards the body of their horse, being upon a place unaccessable for horsemen. This oblidged them to shift their station, and draw up upon a bank more easterly, and there they stopt till all their foot came up. Thereafter Dalyell advanced toward Wallace, and drew up his army upon the skirt of the same hill, where Wallace hade the ridge and Dalyell hade the skirt beneath him, which is the Rullion-green. When he was there, he sends a great party of horse, attended with some foot, to charge Lermont's wing. Wallace sends down another party of horse, flanked with foot, to meet them. After the horse on both sides hade spent their fire, they close upon another, while Wallace his poor foot makes Dalyell's to run, and thereupon the horse run likewise. Then advances a second party of horse that same way upon Lermont's body. Another body of Lermont's men is sent down to meet them, with that successe, that they chase them beyond the front of their army; but a third party of horse made them retire up the hill to their old station. Now, when all the dispute was upon Wallace his left hand towards the head of the hill, Dalyell advances the whole left wing of his horse upon Wallace his right, where he hade but thirty weak horse to receive them. Those they soon overrun, and carried their charge so stoutly home, that all Wallace's companies were made to run, and could never

rally.* The slaughter was not great, for the west countrey men were upon the top of a hill. It was almost dark night before the defeat, and the horsemen who hade made the chase being most part gentlemen, pitied their own innocent countrey men. There were about 50 killed, and as many taken of Wallace his men, and 5 or 6 of Dalyell's. This happened on November 28, 1666. The countrey people were very cruel, both in killing the fleeing men, and taking many prisoners. I hade occasion to ride through Carnwath some two years after this defeat, and asked the countrey people whether it was true that a fire was seen sometimes rise out of the midst of their moss, and creep alongst the earth till it came to Carnwath, and there it covered the house of a man, who, as the report was, hade carried some of the poor fleeing men into the moss and murthered them, and buried them in the place, which was the place of the fire. The people told me it was very true, and told me the man's name, and shewed me the house.† Wallace and Mr Welsh

* "Captain Paton, who was all along with Captain Arnot, in the first encounter behaved with great courage and gallantry. Dalyell, knowing him in the former wars, advanced upon him himself, thinking to take him prisoner. Upon his approach, each presented their pistols. Upon their first discharge, Captain Paton perceiving the pistol-ball to hop down upon Dalyell's boots, and knowing what was the cause, (he having proof,) put his hand to his pocket for some small pieces of silver he had there for the purpose, and put one of them into his pistol. But Dalyell, having his eye on him, in the meanwhile retreated behind his own man, who by that means was slain."—*Life of Captain* JOHN PATON.

† "I find among some of my notes, written in the year 1666, that Richard Chaplain and his brother George, both of them merchants in Haddington, coming home late from Edinburgh upon a Saturday night, being the 4th of November, 1666, and riding off the moor at a place called the Two-Mile Cross, within two mile of their own home, saw four men, in grey clothes and blue bonnets, standing round about a dead corpse, lying swaddled in a winding-sheet. Their dog was so feared that he durst not

fled over the hills northward, and after they hade turned their horse away, entered into a poor countrey man's barn, and there slept that night more securely than they hade done many before.*

This was the end of that poor party, and it was a wonder they proved so brave on the day of their defeat, considering either the constitution or conduct of such ane army. They hade not matter to work upon, their number being so small; a handfull of poor naked countrey lads who hade never seen warre. They hade few officers, and those had no authority; every private centinel would either be satisfied about the secrets of their councill of warre, or was in hazard of clamouring the company into a mutiny, and then deserting the party upon a scruple; so miserable a thing did Admiral Chatillon find it to command ane army of volunteers. Wallace himself was a gentleman, godly and resolute, but such ane undertaking was for a man of miracles. Alwayes man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps. They protested alwayes their design was to testifie for the Lord; herein Providence and they agreed,

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go forward, but came running back among the horses' feet. The one brother is yet living, a sober and Christian man, who can attest this. If I have varied, it is only in some small circumstance, which doth not alter the thing itself. It is the more remarkable, because it was about twenty days before Rullion Green."—SINCLAIR'S *Satan's Invisible World.*

* "Mr Welch (as is reported) during the fight, prayed with up-lifted hands to the Lord of Hosts against Amalek, (as his spirit moved him to miscall the royall forces,) and had his hands stayed up by some of his brethren, as Moses had his by Aaron and Hur." HICKS'S *Ravillac Redivivus.*—Sir James Turner, a more respectable authority than Hicks, does not mention this circumstance; but says, that during the engagement he and his guards were removed from a hill, on which they had originally been posted, "and by the way we met with Mr Welch and Mr Semple, who were going to take that advantage of ground which we formerlie had, and by doing so, I thought both of them had provided indifferentlie well for their oune saftie." After ascending the hill, when the ministers imagined that their friends gained any advantage, they shouted out,

for tho' they came not by the way of victory, yet by the way of their noble sufferings they made up all the disadvantages in their conduct. Before Wallace was broke, some gentlemen in the west hade gathered a small company of horsemen, amounting to 50, and were upon their way to have joyned Wallace. They came as far as Glasford, but hearing Dalyell was betwixt them and their friends, they were constrained to retire and dissolve. Of this troop, Mure of Caldwell was captain; with him were Robert Ker of Kersland, Maxwell of Blackston, Caldwell of Caldwell, John Cunninghame of Bedland; and of ministers, Mr Gabriel Maxwell, Mr George Ramsey, and Mr John Carstaires, who came along much against his inclination, only to satisfie the importunity of his friends, for in secret he perswaded his friends not to appear. But if this company scapt the sword at Rullion-green, they scapt not hereby sufferings, the ryfeling of their houses, forfaulture, and exile. After a while, Caldwell's estate was given to Dalyell, and Kersland's to Drummond, for a reward of their great service; and these were the two best estates belonging to that party, and these Dalyell and Drummond possessed till King William altered the scene of affaires.

Now follows the second part of this mournfull tragedy; the lamentable executions and sufferings which fell upon this broken party, and indeed many suffered with them who were not of their company; few fearing God were not concerned in the calamity. Of all Scotland, only Mid-Lothian was cruel; they took many prisoners, killed some, and were some of them so barbarous as to unbury them, that they might rob them of their winding-sheets in

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"The God of Jacob! the God of Jacob!" which was re-echoed by Turner's guards. The *prudent* conduct of Welch and Semple is strongly contrasted by that of the two preachers from Ireland, who fought courageously, and were left dead on the field of battle.

which the honest people of Edinburgh hade buried them; yet even in that countrey many were kind to them; Alexander Pennicook, that famous surgeon, harboured some and cured many; yea, even among the curats, some hade so much of a man as to preserve some of them. But up and down the countrey many grew sick of grief, and some died. Particularly Mr Arthure Murray, ane honest outted minister, dwelling in a suburb of Edinburgh, by which Dalyell's men entered the city after the victory. He hearing they were passing by, opened his window to view them, where he saw them display their banners tainted in the blood of these innocent people, and heard them shout victory, upon which he took his bed and died within a few dayes.

However, all the prisoners were brought to Edinburgh, and there by the provest's command crouded into Haddock's-hole.* The country people, beside those taken, brought in about thirty more; some of the chief they lodged in the Tolbooth; and alwayes as a handfull of them were condemned to die, they were secured there, as being a more sure prison then the other was. The council made quick dispatch, and Bishop Sharp was willing president, for within 9 dayes of the defeat the first parcell of them was execute. But when the question was first stated at the councill-

* This is a part of the High Church of Edinburgh, so denominated from Sir John Gordon of Haddo, who was there confined previous to his execution for loyalty to King Charles the First. While the Pentland rebels were imprisoned in this and other places, they were liberally supplied with food by Wisheart, Bishop of Edinburgh, who well knew the horrors of incarceration, having himself been immured by the covenanters for seven months in a dark, loathsome dungeon, where he was allowed only once to change his linen, and had like to have been devoured by rats, the marks of whose voracity he bore on his face to his grave. *Vide* BURNET, who observes, that the prisoners were so plentifully supplied both by the bishop and many others in Edinburgh, that they ran a great risk, having no air or exercise, of falling martyrs to unwonted repletion!

table, what should be done with them, forasmuch as they seemed to have their lives spared by the king, in regarde they hade quarter granted them by those who hade the king's commission, either to kill or to save alive, the councill debated upon it, and Sir John Gilmoure, the greatest lawyer, declined to give his judgement, knowing if he spoke for spareing he should offend the blood-thirsty bishops, and if he spoke for blood he should grieve his conscience. But it fell unhappily upon the Lord Lie to declare, he believed, tho' the prisoners hade the souldiers quarter in the field, it prejudged not their tryal by law; so to bloody executions they went.

And these they call out to be the first bloody sacrifice, were Major Maculloch, a reverend old gentleman, Captain Andrew Arnot, Thomas Paterson (who was condemned, but died of his wounds,) the two Gordons, Gavin and James Hamilton, John Neilsone of Corsack, &c. These they referr to the judges criminal. Sir John Home of Renton, (one of the best friends the bishops hade in Scotland,) and Mr William Murray, advocate, were the judges; Sir John Nisbit, pursuer, Mr William Maxwell and George M'Kenzie, defenders; but it abode a short dispute. When the king's quarter was objected, Nisbit answered, it was not a lawfull warre, but rebellion, and therefore quarter was no defence; so the bloody sentence past, that they should be hanged at Edinburgh Cross, on December 7th, their goods confiscate, and thereafter their bodies dismembred, and the heads of Major M'Culloch and the two Gordons should be pitched on the gate of Kirkcudbright; the two Hamiltons and Strongs' heads should be affixed at Hamilton; the heads of Ross at Kilmarnock; and Captain Arnot's sett on the Watter-gate at Edinburgh. The armes of all the ten, because they hade with uplifted hands renewed the covenant at Lanerk, were sent to the people of that town, to expiate that crime by placeing these arms on the top of their prison. Accordingly these

ten suffered on the day appointed. Thereafter another parcell were condemned, and execute on Dec. 14th; among these was Mr Alexander Robison, who hade been basely betrayed by the Laird of Mortoun, whom he trusted upon promise of life; and Humphray Colhoun, merchant in Glasgow. Last of all, the third parcell were condemned to die upon Dec. 22, being eight in number, but 4 were reprived and pardoned, and some of them took the declaration. Among these who suffered last were Ralph Shields, Englishman, John Wodrow, merchant, and Mr Hew M'Kaill, a preacher. The particulars of their execution I shall not fully enumerate, only some generals I shall observe. None of them would save their life by taking the declaration, and renunceing the covenant, tho' it was offered to them all; all of them died constant, and justifying what they hade done; all of them left their written testimony behind them; some of these are printed in Naphtali, but not all; all of them died cheerfully, and full of hope of salvation, tho' some of them had lived long in great anguish, particularly John Neilson of Corsack; some of them strove who should climb the ladder first, and triumphed when they got upon it, as George Crawford, yeoman. All of them died in hope that God would deliver Scotland. But never men died in Scotland so much lamented by the people, not only spectators, but these in the countrey. When Knockbreck and his brother were turned over they clasped each other in their armes, and so endured the pangs of death. When Humphray Colhoun died, he spoke not like ane ordinary citizen, but like a heavenly minister, relating his comfortable Christian experiences, and called for his Bible and laid it on his wounded arm, and read John, iii. 8, and spoke upon it most sweetly to the admiration of all. But most of all, when Mr M'Kaill died, there was such a lamentation as was never known in Scotland before; not one dry cheek upon all the street, or in all the numberless windows in the Mercate-place. He was a proper youth, learn,

ed, travelled, and extraordinarily pious. He fasted every week one day, and signified frequently his apprehension of such a death as he died; and heavy were the groans of the poor spectators when he spoke his joyes in death; then all cursed the bishops who used to curse, then all prayed who used to pray, entreating God to judge righteous judgement; never was there such a mournfull day seen in Edinburgh, never such a mournfull season seen in Scotland in any man's memory.* The mourning of the people was attended with wonderfull prodigies in the air; many honest people in Pittinweam made faith upon it, that at night, about this time, they heard the voice of a multitude, as they judged about Welstoun Mount, praising and singing psalmes, with that space betwixt lines which used to be allowed for reading the line, and much talk there was of much more of that kind. Before the executions were begun, the councill thought good to put John Neilson of Corsack and Mr M'Kaill, both to torture, a practise not used in Scotland for 40 years before, and very seldom at any time, but now revived by the bishops, and very common afterward.* The councill's pretence was, to discover the

* M'Kaile had deserted the insurgents previous to the battle at Pentland; and he denied any participation in their enterprize, when examined by the privy council. *This fainting in a day of trial*, as he calls it, he greatly bewails in his last speech and testimony; which, together with many other documents respecting him and his fellow-sufferers, are to be found in a 4to pamphlet, entitled, *Samson's Riddle, or a Bunch of bitter Wormwood bringing forth a Bundle of Sweet smelling Myrrh.*—Two nights previous to his execution, (Dec. 22,) he said to his companions at supper, "Eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may be all a fat Christmas pie to the prelates." He himself, though *a comely proper youth*, was lean and consumptive; and had lain for a considerable time in a fainting fit at Air, before he deserted from the presbyterian insurgents.

* The boot was an instrument of torture "made of four pieces of narrow boards nailed together, of a competent length for the leg, not unlike those short cases we use to guard young trees from the rabbets." MORER's *Short Account of Scotland.*—Af-

plot upon which the whiggs hade founded their insurrection. No plot did the innocent men discover, nor could they, for there was none. What they said the councill did not record, because they found nothing.

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ter the criminal's leg was laid in, wedges were driven down, which caused intolerable pain, and frequently mangled the limb in a shocking manner. In the year 1684, Arthur *Tacket*, a presbyterian tailor in Hamilton, was ordained by the council to be questioned in the boots; but his legs were so slender that the surgeon present on such occasions assured the king's advocate the torture would certainly break them. Wodrow.—A young woman, called Wood, and John Tosach, were booted in the year 1632, concerning the mysterious conflagration of the Tower of Frendraught, in which Lord Aboyne and several of his friends perished. This seems to have been the last application of the boot, previous to the affair of Pentland. In more remote times, it was used, with great cruelty, in cases of witchcraft; and was applied, once at least, during the examinations regarding the Gowrie conspiracy. Nicholson writes to Cecil, "Master William Rynd, the pedagogue, hath been extremely booted, but confesseth nothing of that matter against the earl and his brother." In the year 1689, Chislie of Dalry was put to this torture, exactly ten days before the estates of parliament passed the act and declaration concerning King James's *forfaulture* of the crown, through illegal assumption and exercise of power, in which declaration it is asserted, "that the use of torture, without evidence, and in ordinary crimes, is contrary to law." The last state criminal tortured in Scotland was Nevil Payn, but he suffered in the thumbkins, an instrument calculated, by means of screws, to press the thumbs so powerfully, that the blood sometimes gushed from their extremities, and the arms of the criminal swelled to the shoulder. This contrivance is said by Wodrow and others, to have been brought from Russia by Generals Dalyell and Drummond; but whatever improvements on the machinery of the thumbkins they might import, it is probable that the instrument itself, or something extremely similar, was well known in Scotland long previous to the reign of Charles the Second.—"24th of June, 1596. John Stewart, master of Orkney, indyted for consulting Alison Balfour, a witch, for the destruction of Patrick Earl of Orkney, his brother, by poison.—His majesty gave a warrant to insist.—Defences—As to the first part of his dittay, founded on Allison Balfour's confession, no regard can be had to it, in respect the said confession was extorted by force of torments, she having been kept 48 hours in the caspie claws; her husband, almost 90 years

The executioner favoured Mr M'Kaill, but Corsack was cruelly tormented, and screight for pain in terrible manner, so as to have moved a heart of stone. This was done on Dec. 4th, and they were examined by Rothesse, who called frequently for the other toutch. All that they said was, that the oppressions of the countrey hade turned the people into a tumult, and more there was not to say. Yet the councill would not give it over so, for after the executions were ended at Edinburgh, Rothes travelled through the west countrey, carrying with him a quorum of the councill, and there they condemned, first, a number of poor countrey people to be hanged at Glasgow, and thereafter some to die at Air, and only two to suffer at Irvine. All of them died just as their fellows at Edinburgh suffered, tho' poor illiterate unbred men. At Glasgow, the souldiers beat the drums about them when they were speaking their last words, lest the words of dying men should have established the hearers more than the sufferings terrified them. At Air, the executioner fled from the town, because he would not murther the innocent; so the condemned hade almost escapt, if malicious Provest Cunninghame hade not invented this expedient, that one of the 8 who were to suffer should have his life spared if he would execute the rest, which one of them yielded to doe; but when the execution-day came, lest he should have fainted, the cruell provest caused

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of age, put in heavy irons; her son put in the buits, when he suffered 57 strakes; and her daughter, about seven years old, put in the pilniewinks, or cairds, all in the woman's presence, to make her confess; and afterwards, baith on her trial and execution, she denied all; and that her confession was extorted from her by the cruel torture of the caspie claws, in which she was put twice a-day for 14 days, cawit in the buits, and whipt with cords till neither flesh nor hyde was left on her body." *Abbreviate of the Records of Justiciarie, MS.*—From a childish nursery game, too ridiculous to be detailed, I am tempted to believe that the pilnie-winks, or cairds, was an instrument of torture on the same construction with the thumbkins.

fill him almost drunk with brandy, a practice like the rest of his government. The two poor men that died at Irvine, were very much discouraged while they were in prison; and when the minister, Mr Alexander Nisbit, visited them, he found them both sad and ignorant; but when the day came, they died full of joy and courage, even to admiration. The executioner of Irvine, a poor ignorant Highlandman, William Sutherland, refused to take the lives of the servants of God, which offended the great men there so much, they told him he should be shott to death if he would not; but, he still persisting, they tyed him to a stake, and presented the musquateers to give fire. All this moved him not; then Drummond whispered his command, that they should all run in upon him with great noise, while his face was covered. This was done for a base reason, which I will not write; but they resolved to make him feell the fear of death if he scapt the pains of it, and this was his martyrdome.*

* When seated in the stocks, he descanted to the admiration of his hearers on the *side tails* (i. e. long trains) of the bishops, demanding, "How know ye, but the Lord hath revealed more to me than to your bishops with their *side tails!*"—His declaration, printed by Wodrow, is a very extraordinary composition, and so ludicrous, that it is a matter of some surprise how the grave minister of Eastwood himself could forbear from a smile. Sutherland, giving an account of the earlier part of his life, narrates, that by sundry mishaps he was reduced to great poverty in his capacity of a shepherd, "and was engaged by the counsel of some *honest men* from that scripture, *Suffer not a witch to live*, to execute a witch, and to cleanse chimney heads, whereby I gained something for livelyhood.—The first night I was prisoner, there was one Mr White, a curate, came to me to persuade me to do my office on the said persons, and said, 'What is this you are doing? Do you not know that thir men are guilty of rebellion?' and from the 1st Sam. 15, told me that the rebellion whereof these men were guilty, was the sin of witchcraft:" (This was taking him in his own strain.) "To whom I answered, that that rebellion was Saul's rebellion against the immediate command and revealed will of God, and that for sparing Agag and the best of the cattle, and was as the rebellion spoken of the children of Israel, when they rebelled and refused to go to the land of Canaan, but would have chosen captains, and have gone back again to Egypt. And that

After the commissioner had preambulat the west, he set a compass by the south, and execute two poor men more at Dumfries, and so returned to Edinburgh, having with all his diligence discovered that indeed there was nothing to be discovered. Now the bishops triumphed, believing their fear was discussed, their warre at ane end, their last enemies buried; but they mistook the case. Mr Robert Lowrie, that he might efface the impression the sufferers hade made in Edinburgh, in the height of his authority, declared, the sufferers hade gone down to the pit with a lie in their right hand; this brought disdain and hatred to himself, but hurt not the sufferers' cause. Bishop Sharp, during the time he presided in the councill, stumbled upon diverse misfortunes: First, dureing the time the whiggs were in armes, the provest of Edinburgh appointed a guard to secure his lodging; and indeed they discovered their respects for him, for if they of necessity behooved to keep him safe, they resolved, at least, he should have no quiet sleep when they watched. So every half hour he hade a false alarme, one centinel crying loud in the bishop's ears, Stand; another, Give fire; as if some body hade been coming to assault him. Every hour in the night the bishop was

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is like the rebellion spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, 'All day long have I stretched out my hands to a stiff-necked, rebellious, and gainsaying people.' I told him this was not rebellion against man, and in the New Testament it is called a trespass, and our Lord said to Peter, 'if thy brother trespass against thee, forgive unto 70 times seven.' So I think if the Galloway men should trespass twenty times, it was far less than 70 times 7, the king should forgive them, tho' it were rebellion against him, which I do deny. The provost of Air, when he saw me altogether refusing, he rounded in my lug, 'What, are you afraid of the country folk? I shall give you fifty dollars, and you may go to the Highlands, or where you please.' I answered him, speaking out loud that all might hear, 'What, would you have me sell my conscience? where can I flee from God? remember Jonas fled from God, but the Lord found him out, and ducked him over the lugs; so shall he me if I go over the light of my conscience.' Then I was taken away, and put in the stocks."

so tormented for want of sleep, he was constrained to goe lodge in the castle. A worse misfortune happened to him, and that was, he wrote one letter up to Lauderdale the secretary, to be shewed to the king, wherein he affirmed all went well in Scotland, and that every man was in his duty, except the few phanaticks in armes, whom he feared not; but he wrote up another letter to a nobleman at court, wherein he affirmed all was wrong, no man was faithfull to the king, they were all sold. Both these letters were read to the king, and when he saw Sharp's two faces, then he discovered his dishonesty, which he would never believe before, but after that could never hear of his name; and last, by a letter from the king, discharging the taking any more lives, was directed to him, to be by him delivered to the councill. This he kept up till all that were condemned were execute. This was cast in his teeth by those who took his life, who told him, as he hade never shewed mercy to any, so mercy he should have none himself. And indeed from the day and date of these poor people's sufferings, the episcopal interest decayed even till their subversion. The noblemen began to weary of following them, the persecution slackened, people began to dishaunt the churches, the outted ministers begun to preach in more publick manner; and the poor people who were at that time in contempt, called Whiggs, became name fathers to all that owned ane honest interest in Brittain, who were called Whiggs after them, even at the court of England; so strangely doth Providence improve man's mistakes for the furthering of the Lord's purpose. As for Blackwood, he very narrowly escaped the sentence of death for the first time, and that was the reward he hade for his embassy of peace.

After this, Tom Dalyell (as he was commonly called) marched westward, to improve his victory and destroy his enemies; and here he carried himself as if he had been in Muscovia. The souldiers take free quarters and doe what they will; the whole substance of

the countrey is consumed. Himself takes up his quarters at Kilmarnock, and there upon private examination of any whom he suspected either to have been in armes, or to harbour any of them, he not only threatned, but cruelly tortured whom he pleased. thrust so many into the ugly dungeon at Kilmarnock, called the Theeves-hole, that they could not bow their bodies, but were forced to stand upright; when one of them fell dangerously sick, he would not liberate him till he hade surety he should be returned living or dead; and accordingly the poor sureties were forced to bring his carcase to the prison-door, where he lay a long time, till att last Dalyell permitted them to bury the dead man. A certain man at Newmilnes, called David Finlay, was, upon Dalyell's command, brought before him, and because he either would not or could not dilate and accuse the rich whiggs whom he hade seen in armes at Lanerk, was presently, by Dalyell's command, without sentence of judge, witness, or councill of warre, appointed to be shot to death, tho' he was no manner of way under the generall's command. When the poor man was carried out to die, neither he nor the lieutenant that was to execute the sentence, believed the general to be in earnest; and when the souldiers told the poor man he behooved to die, he begged earnestly one night's time to prepare for eternity; upon which the lieutennant returned to the generall, intreating the poor man might be forborn for one night; but the answer he had was severe, threatning he would teach him to obey without scruple;* so the poor man was instantly shott dead, and stript naked on the ground. The

* General Dalyell was a very strict disciplinarian in military matters. Lord Fountainhall records in his Diary, (1680,) "his causing execute a souldier for stealing a pair of pistolls out of the magazine; and he caused a council of war condemn another for being found sleeping at the Abbey-gate: but the Duke of York obtained his pardon."

sergeant that hade brought the poor man to the generall, and thereafter gone to take a sleep, when he heard the news as he awaked, that the poor man was so suddenly dispatcht, took his bed presently, would neither eat nor drink till he died, which was within a few dayes.

Another example of their cruelty was, Tom Dalyell kept a garrison in the castle of the Dean, closs by Kilmarnock; the souldiers in the castle one day chassing a poor whigg, because he run thro' a poor countrey woman's house, she knew not whither; for as soon as he hade passed the house he clapped down in a ditch full of watter, which she did not see; yet, because she would not find them the man, they let her down into a deep pit under the castle, full of serpents, and shrieking in a most dreadfull manner, till all the people in the village hade their ears pierced with her cries, but durst not so much as speak for her, lest they should have been so used themselves; and so they used others beside.* Sir Mungo Murray, because he heard two countrey men hade lodged two whiggs a night, bound the two men's bodies together, and hanged them up by the armes to hing all night, and so he went to bed. The poor men were in such torment they had certainly dyed, if Sir Mungo's souldiers, more mercifull then himself, had not hazarded his wrath, and cutt them down to save their lives. These were part of their wayes, but much more there was of that sort. Sir James Turner and Sir Wil-

* "A petty heritor in the parish of Uchiltree being apprehended upon a groundless suspicion of reset of traitors (as they term it), was brought to Kilmarnock; where, being an old man full of obstructions, he was so suffocated with the smoke there occasioned by a coal-fire, wanting a chimney-vent, that often times a day the souldiers have in derision carried him out as dead, and after a little recovery by reason of the free aire, with cruel scorn ignominiously returned him unto his prison; which barbarity they still continued, untill by extremity of such usage, he is reduced to such weakness as there is little hope of life."—*Napthali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland.*

liam Bannatyne hade by their cruelties driven the poor people of Galloway into despair, but they were saints compared to Tom Dalyell and his souldiers. Meantime the poor whiggs either wandered in a strange land, or lurked under dissembled names in remote places of the countrey, or hid themselves in caves or coal-pits; and indeed it was a sad winter, when the poor people of the countrey perceived Dalyell and his souldiers took to themselves the same power over the bodies and lives of the countrey people, that they had over dogs; and this was the first time ever Scotland endured so much tyrannie.

But our grandees framed another design: They hade never as yet reapt the harvest of their hopes from the king's return, and their mouthes hade missed the fat morsel of the fynes. Now they hope so to improve the insurrection in the west as to turn it into a golden myne; and their method was this: First to perswade the king that all the phanaticks, whiggs, and presbyterians must be extirpate; then to get the execution of the design trusted into their hands, and so they should divide the spoil. And, therefore, within two days of the defeat, they write up to the king, that the people of Scotland were so leavened with rebellious principles, there could be no expectation of a peaceable government without a more vigorous application of the king's power (this was the mystical expression they used,) for the rooting out of these principles in persons suspected or dissaffected. This was the stile of the letter, but the meaning was that the councill should have power from the king to press the declaration upon any rich presbyterian they pleased to call, and in case of refuseal, to forfault them. This would have made them all men of gold. The letter was subscrived by Rothes in name of the councill, and great was the importunity used by the bishops and all their friends at court to have this sute granted in the full latitude. Dalyell and Drummond were both received

councellors immediately after the defeat; and the truth is, there was no great difference betwixt Dalyell's councill of warre, and the secret councill of Scotland at that time, for most of the great men in the secret councill were officers of the army, and members of Dalyell's councill of warre. Duke Hamilton, in the councill of warre, was only Rit-master Hamilton (as Dalyell used to call him); Rothes was Rit-master Leslie; Lithgow, Collonel Livingston; and so of the rest. And indeed their purpose was to have hade their army the power and spirit of Scotland, and all the rest of the people, only their tennants and provisors. Accordingly, in January 1667, a convention of states is called, only for the effect of providing money for the army. Also, about this time, Drummond goes to court, and it was much suspected upon dangerous designes, and particularly to agent the councill's design for pressing the declaration; but Lauderdale, the secretary at that time, had neither forgotten the old principles of a presbyterian nor a Scottish man, and because his power with the king was very great, and in a manner absolute, knowing the councill's design to be both cruel and base, he ordered the matter so, that the king wrote down in answer to their letter, that they might doe well to press the declaration upon suspected persons, and if they refuse, he allowes them to incarcerate the refuser. This was a miss, a cooling card: They cared not for incarcerating the fanaticks, because it produced no money; and they were more desirous of the fanaticks estates than their conversion. So never a fanatick was called to appear; but it pleased the Lord this cruel design proved ane abortive. This letter bare date March 12, 1667, and was one of the best ever Lauderdale subscrived. Yet, lest our councillors should appear negligent and careless over the king's enemies, (as they pretended), they once more disarm the west, and dismount them also, which was a practice unjust, hurtful, and turned to no other account, but to gather armes sometime thereafter to be burried in the sea.

But, because our souldier councellors perceived they were crossed in their designes by Lauderdale, there sprung up a faction of new opposites to him, even among those who had been his friends formerly, when the competition was betwixt him and Middleton. These were, Duke Hamilton, (and indeed Lauderdale and he were never friends after this), Rothes, Newburgh, Lithgow, the officers of the army, and the bishops. And he hade among them his own party: Argyle, Tweddale, Kincairn, Cochrane: And this summer he sent down Sir Robert Murray, the great mathematician and favorite,* who was

* As any notice respecting so distinguished a person as Sir Robert Murray may be deemed valuable, the following extract is printed from a letter written by the Duke of Lauderdale to Lord Kincardine, concerning his death:—Sir Robert, in his youth, had been selected by Lord Dysart as a husband for his daughter, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale; and though the lady did not bestow her hand upon him, they lived long in terms of the strictest friendship. Murray was also, for several years, the confident and adviser of Lauderdale himself; but the duchess, who, if we are to believe Burnet, persuaded her husband to quarrel with his best friends, made a breach betwixt them, on the pretence that Sir Robert assumed all the merit of the duke's political administration to himself.—"*Bath, July* 7, 1673. This morning I received yours of the 5th, and was as much surprized with the suddain death of Sir Robert Murray as you was. You know how he carried himself to me since I came last from Scotland, what a quarrel d'alleman he made without the least provocation, when at my going to Scotland he parted with me so fair, and never did pretend the least injury I had done him since; and the king knows how far I was from doing him the least injury, or so much as resenting it, though you know he owed me as many obligations as man could owe. You know I lent him one thousand pounds sterling five and twenty years ago: Indeed he payed me the principall when the king gave him 1600l., but I have payed interest for it 25 years, of which I shall never have a penny: So I lost my money, and one I once thought my friend. Had he died a year ago, I should have been very much troubled for him, but he cured me of that. One use I shall make of it: I shall be very unwilling to dine with the lord chancellour, seeing his meat digests very ill. It would be well done that the king would appoint you and Mr William Areskine to see Sir Robert Murray's papers, that they fall not into ill hands; and if his majesty have not disposed his lodgings, they would be very fit for my office, for which I have

received a councellor with Tweddale his kinsman. He contracted a nearer relation at this time, by marrying his only daughter and presumptive heiresse, to Tweddale's eldest son, the Lord Yester, which was a splendid glorious marriage at court, the king himself leading the bride uncovered to the church. But with those friends, and the power he hade with the king, he was able enough both to overturn his enemies and all their designes against him; and to weaken them he begins with Rothes, whom, from being lord-keeper, he advanced to be lord high chancellor, neither for respect nor confidence, but to prepare him for the losse of the commissioner's place and pension, which happened shortly thereafter; for he was declared chancellor on Jully 4, and his commission to be high commissioner declared void in September following. But that he might not be turned altogether a private man, he is made chancellor, which he took in so bad a part, he was once resolving to have refused it, because he was not a schollar, but his friends told him he hade better be chancellor than nothing at all. So he accepted.* One

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not room in my lodgings; but say nothing if the king have an inclination otherwise. So, with my service to all friends, adieu."

* Rothes's disorderly conduct in private life occasioned imputations of negligence as to publick affairs.—This, as much as his feud with the Duke of Lauderdale, diminished his influence with the king, and consequently his power in Scotland. Archbishop Sharp, whose letters to Rothes do him much credit as a candid friend and sage adviser, writes thus to the duke from London:—"By my last I scribled, being straitned with time, I do not remember well what; only what comes into my heart I take a freedome to utter to your grace, whyle I am with you by word, and at this distance by write. I have been these two days much at Lambeth, and yesterday morning had a full and free discourse with a confident of Worcester-House, and found there has been endeavours, since your parting from this place, to do me ill offices, and not good service to your grace. It is apprehendit here that I am absolutely yours, (and I confess I doe not take pains to dispossess them of that opinion);

great design more Lauderdale accomplished this summer, and that was the disbanding of the army. He knew they oppressed the countrey: They could not be maintained but by ruining Scotland (within a little time, a captain's place would have been better than a Scottish barrony). He knew likewayes they were his personal enemies, and therefore he would have it done; but sore was the struggling was made against it at the councill-table: One while a letter comes that the whiggs are all in arms; another while the

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and therefore they have thought it fitt for them to make bold with me, by using all the wayes their malice could prompt them to blast my reputation and credit with my most gracious master, with the duke, and churchmen my friends; and their having begun with me, (whom they thought, in my absence, it was easy to oppress) they might without much controll have opportunity to make their calumnies of your grace to take place, that you are unfitt to prosecute the king's service, not at all concerning yourself seriously in it, being dissolute, lascivious, and wholly given up to follow your pleasures, caring for none, and being intimate with none, but such kind of persons who are without brains and morality, who you keep alwayes about you, for drinking, carding, dyceing, and w—g; so as your family and way gives the example to all loosnes throughout the country. Finding that these suggestions were made of you, I thought it was fitt for me upon Munday morning to speak to the king, and to read your note written to me, of which I do not repent. I did justify you to my Lord Canterbury, of whose fidelity and friendship to you I can give you assurance. Having taken my Lords of Atholl and Storment to dyne with him yesterday at Lambeth, he entertained them very kindly, and sayed to them at the table, that by the account I had given him, he found that the king's commissioner for Scotland, his noble friend, had done the part of a faithfull minister to his master; and having called for a glass of shearie, he pulled off his hatt, and drank out to your grace's health, and made it go round the table, all being uncovered. I am not solicitous or doubtfull but that you are so ordering your carriage as will cutt off occasion or pretensions to those who envy your greatness to traduce you. Before I part from hence, your interest with the king, and those who govern here, shall be more surely fixed then can be underminded or lessened by the attempts of any."

souldiers would personat the whiggs, and plunder in their name. They made Sir William Bannatyne, in Galloway, execute the bonds poor people hade given him before the day of payment came, in hopes the people would resist palpable violence by force. The duke protested he was not sure of his life, but that his enemies (to whom, indeed, he hade been very severe), might kill him at his sport. To this Tweddale answered:—He thought, indeed, the councill should have a care of my lord duke's safety; and therefore moved a squadron of the life guard might quarter at Hamilton. This was fair, but not taken as favourable.

However, all would not doe, for, upon the 13th of August, comes a peremptory command to pay and disband the whole army, except two troops of horse, and Lithgow's foot guards. And this was a good turn to the poor countrey, but a sore heart to many a wicked man: They hade bought their offices in the army with their money, and spent their stock upon their equipage; and now this dissolution of the army was like a shipwrack to a merchant. But yet something must be done to satisfie those who longed for the reward of unrighteousness; therefore, according to a proclamation of summonds which hade past in June last, a justice court is holden at Edinburgh within few days after the disbanding of the army was commanded at Whitehall, and before the army was actually reduced. The judges were, the Earl of Athol, Justice Generall, Lithgow, appointed assessor by the councill to assist him. Nisbit, the advocate, pursued; and, indeed, there was speedy justice. Many who were summoned to be upon the assyse refused, but they found aboundance to undertake it: Such as Somervell of Drum, chancellor of the assyse; Sir Robert Dalyell, Sir William Bannatyne, Major Grant, all three present officers of the army; Sir John Falconer; Kennie, secretar to Dalyell; Robert Hay, a papist, son to Mr John Hay, advocate; Johnston of Skeins, Lockhart of Cleghorn, Hepburn

of Bearford, John Rigge, sometime of Carberry, and Robert Baird, baillie of Edinburgh. By these the lairds of Caldwell and Kersland, Bedland, Cunninghame and Quarrletone, with his brother Alexander, are all forfaulted for life and fortune; and diverse others besides them, whose names occure not. As for the rest of the persons named in the proclamation, none of them appeared in the court; but for lake of evidence they could not be forfaulted. They were excepted out of the indemnity proclamed in the October following. Among these were Collonel James Wallace, Major Lermont, Maxwell of Moncrief, younger, M'Lelland of Barscob, Gordon of Parbreck, M'Lelland of Balmacharchan, Canon of Bromishallock, younger, Canon of Bairly, younger, Canon of Mardrogat, younger, Welsh of Skar, Welsh of Cornley, (who was dead at the time), Gordon of Garrery, Gordone of Holme, younger, Demster of Carridow, Kirkco of Sandywell, Dalgoner, several poor countrey men in diverse places, the Goodman of Caldwell, Lockart of Wicketshaw. And for ministers, Messrs Robert Traille, Gabriel Semple, John Guthrie, John Welsh, Samuel Arnot, James Smith, Alexander Peady,* William Vetch, John Paton, John

* This was the celebrated Alexander Peden, commonly called "Auld Saundie," who afterwards made a great figure, both as a preacher and a prophet. His Life and Predictions, long the text book of the presbyterian vulgar, is worthy of perusal. Even Wodrow seems to believe him a prophet. The greatest miracle attending his ministry was, that he had the good fortune to die in his bed. He was long the bitter enemy of Renwick, another preacher of the same stamp, who also, according to the minister of Eastwood, "wanted not his impressions." Peden had one sore conflict with Satan in a cave in Galloway; and proved a notable discoverer of witches. Yet, in his youth, he himself was accused of having fallen into a snare, from which he found some difficulty to escape blameless.—"When he was about to enter to the ministry, a young woman fell to be with child in adultery, a servant in the house where he staid. When she found herself to be with child, she told the father thereof. He

Crookshanks, (who was dead), Gabriel Maxwell, John Carstairs, James Mitchell, William Forsyth, and one Orr. The estates of the forfaulted gentlemen were given to the bishops' hectors; but it

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said, "I'll run for it, and go to Ireland. Father it upon Mr Peden; he has more to help thee and bring it up (he having a piece of heritage) than I have." The same day that he was to get his act of licence, she came in before the presbytery and said, "I hear you are to licence Mr Peden to be a minister; do it not, for I am with child by him." He being without at the time, was called in by the moderator; and being questioned about it, he said, "I am surprised, I cannot speak; but let none ever entertain an ill thought of me, for I am utterly free of it, and God will vindicate me in his own time and way." He went home, and walked at a water-side upwards of twenty-four hours, and would neither eat nor drink. When he returned, he said, "I have got what I was seeking, and I will be vindicated; and that poor unhappy lass will pay dear for it in her life, and will make a dismal end; and for this surfeit of grief that she hath given me, there shall never one of her sex come into my bosom." And accordingly he never married. There are various reports in the way that he was vindicated: Some say, that in the time she was in child-birth, Mr Guthrie charged her to give account who was the father of that child, and discharged women to be helpful to her untill she did it. Some say that she confessed; others that she remained obstinate. However, it is certain, that after she was married, every thing went cross to them, and they wandered from place to place, and were reduced to great poverty. At last she came to that same spot of ground where he staid upwards of twenty-four hours, and made away with herself."—*The Life and Prophecies of the Rev. Mr* ALEXANDER PEDEN.

Peden's prayers were deemed of wonderful efficacy, and were generally *answered;* yet on one occasion a strange disappointment befell him: Being anxious to get over from Ireland to Scotland, and a vessel being with some difficulty procured, "when Robert Wark and his comrade came and told him, he was glad, and very kind and free; but he seemed to be under a cloud at that time. He said, 'Lads, I have lost my prospect wherewith I was wont to look over to the bloody land, and tell you and others what enemies and friends were doing. The devil and I puddles and rides time about upon other; but if I were uppermost again, I shall ride hard, and spurgaw well. I have been praying for a swift passage over to the sinful land, come of us what will; and now Alexander Gordon *is away with my prayer wind,* but it were good

was observed this was the first time ever the king's vassalls were forfaulted in absence, or by any judge except a lawfull parliament. And this was Sir John Nisbit's first essay in his bloody office of king's advocate. So I conclude the affair of the insurrection in the west.

And now the way is prepared for the government of the more favourable and moderate faction, where Tweddale and Sir Robert Murray governed under the influences and directions of Secretary Lauderdale. And the first question of moment stated at our councill-table is, How the countrey shall be composed in peace, now when force is laid aside? The one faction was for pressing the declaration upon all suspected persons, for tho' they hade no present prospect of forfaulture and gain, yet they hoped it might irritate and inflame, and so at length bring in violence and rapine. The other faction was for a bond of peace to be taken by all to whom it should be tendered; and this they thought behooved either to be taken, and so their expedient should hold, or otherwayes make the refusers odious in refusing so easy a demand. The question is stated before the councill, and when it was first voted, Sir Peter Wedderburn, clerk to the councill, affirmed the declaration carried it. Sir Robert Murray affirmed the contrare; so they vote again, and Sir Peter affirmed as before, as also Sir Robert, and they were hot about it, till at length the 3d time the votes were called, and distinctly marked, and than it is found that the bond of peace must be the expedient. The band it self contained but 6 lines, wherein

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for the remnant in Scotland he never saw it." For a speciman of his pulpit eloquence, see *The Lord's Trumpet sounding an Alarm against Scotland, and Warning of a Bloody Sword, being the Substance of a Preface, and two prophetical Sermons, preached at Glenluce, Anno* 1682, *by that great Scottish Prophet, Mr* ALEXANDER PETHINE, *late Minister of the Gospel at Glenluce, 4to.*

the subscriber engadges to keep the publick peace (this was the mystical expression); and in case he fail to pay a year's rent of his estate, and also that all his tennants shall keep the publict peace, or otherwayes the subscriver shall pay to the state the tennants' year's rent, and the servants' year's fee. This was to be the security of the present government. This instrument was contryved, as many other papers and oaths, which were the tentations of Scotland; the words were so general, that when they were tendered, it might be confidently affirmed, they contained nothing contrare to the principles of a covenant-keeper; but also they were so ambiguous, that after a man hade subscrived, it might be confidently affirmed by the judge who tendered them, that the subscriver hade homologate the present government, civil and ecclesiastick. So this bond became the theme of dispute among the people of Scotland opposite to bishops, as many other of their papers hade. Great were the contentions about it, and papers were then enough write upon it. The question turned upon this hinge: Whether he who engadges to keep the publict peace, engadges to doe nothing to disturb the present laws upon which the peace is founded, yea or not? Or whether he who engadges to keep the publick peace, binds only to the duties of righteousness commanded by the law of God? If the first be true, the bond was unlawfull. If the 2d was true, it was lawfull. Certain it is, if the King of England make peace with the King of France by solemn treaty, he is not only bound to all duties of righteousness, but even to hurt himself, if the treaty hath so provided. And whether he, who riseth in armes against tyrants and unjust laws, (as our reformers did) can be said to keep the publict peace, is a subtile debate, as this indeed became; yet, however it was, people divided about it, for some took and some refused it, but it pleased the Lord it was no lasting tryal, for it was quickly laid aside by our governours.

Several things concurred at this time to soften the severity of our governours. The king's unsuccesfullness in the Dutch warre, (they appeared in our firth with their fleet, and made a faint attack upon Burntisland, but it was enough to make us know they were masters of the sea); the wonderfull effect the sufferings of the poor sufferers hade upon the people to make the bishops and their party odious, (it was said, in presence of the secret councill by the Earle of Drumfreis, that if they did not forbear taking more lives, all Scotland would turn such fanaticks as these who suffered were, as I was told); the change of the king's cabinet councellors, (for, at this time, he laid asyde Chancellor Hyde); the inclination of our new governours, who neither loved the bishops nor hated godly men, so much at least as their predecessors. All these put together allowed some calme in the tempest upon the people of Scotland. In England, the king called for severall of the non-conformists, such as Manton and Bates, and in private encouraged them to hold their meetings; and at London people were so bold as to build meeting-houses for the purpose. Moreover, in Scotland, the Lord himself witnessed against the fierce persecution, by smiteing the persecutors in the eye of the world. One example, among many, I shall give: One David M'Braer, in the paroch of Irongray, a landed man, a grievous persecutor, and who accused Mr John Welsh, his paroch minister, upon his life, before Middleton's parliament, being upon a time found hideing himself among his tennants, (because he was in hazard of being imprison'd for debt) was providentially rencountred by one John Gordon, a merchant in the north, and just such ane one as himself; and because M'Braer looked somewhat sad, Gordon apprehends him to be a whigg, and requires him to goe with him to Drumfreis, which M'Braer refused to doe, because he feared the prison for his debt. Gordon suspects him then more strongly, and because he hade come to the south to

agent the cause of a northern curat, and hade borrowed Chambers, that infamous curat of Drumfreis, his sword, this sword he draws and presents to M'Braer; the other, either resisting or fleeing, is presently run through the body by Gordon with Chambers his sword. After this he vaunted he had killed a whigge, but when the people of the countrey saw the body, they told him the dead man was as honest a man as himself, (and just so he was); whereupon he is carried to Dumfreis, and there, by the Earle of Dumfreis and Nidsedale, is condemned to be hanged to-morrow, which sentence was accordingly execute; which made people of the countrey say, the Lord made one enemie destroy another, and that it was a curst thing to persecute the whiggs.

Alwayes our new governours resolved upon a more mild manner of government, and accordingly both the presbyterian ministers and the people begin to lift up their heads. Bishope Burnet hade prophesied the gospell was banisht out of his dioecy that day the army was disbanded, and indeed after that day his flower begane to wallow. Our state also, for a proof of their zeal against popery, bored the tongue of a wretched fellow for speaking truth, in saying the Duke of York was a papist; and by this a man may see in what a case Scotland was, for either our governours were falsely informed, and if so, that was bad; or if they were truely informed, than they were very unfaithfull, and that was worse; for the duke declared afterward, that indeed he was than a papist, and had been long before. But what would they have done (may a man think), if he hade spoken the truth of our king, for whom all the pulpits blessed God, as for the patern and protector of the protestant religion. Also our state this summer call before them Sir James Turner and Sir William Bannatyne, to punish them for their misdemeanours; and warning hade been sent to the west countrey to provide information against them, upon which the councill might proceed. Their business took up the

councill for some time. Many gentlemen in Galloway witnessed and informed many grievous things against Sir James, but he defended himself by producing his commission, subscribed with the hands of the Commissioner Rothes, and the two archbishops, which he affirmed had been taken from him when he was taken prisoner at Drumfries, but afterwards recovered by himself.* He was, notwithstanding his commission, removed from his place, which many thought too mild a censure; but whether his commission did excuse, or he exceeded his commission, is a question Scotland could never answer to this day; only if himself was to be believed, his severities were not so great as he was enjoyned. There were more outrages objected against Sir William than against Sir James: Horrid extortions to get money, raps, cruelties; that he hade made great fires, and laid down men to rost them. Among the rest, a poor gentleman who had been in armes with the whiggs, comeing home to his own house sick unto death, because of hard usage, that Sir William hade sent for him, commanding his souldiers to bring him living or dead; whereupon the souldiers hearing his case, took with them a cart to carry him, and told him, dyeing as he was, he behooved to goe with them. The poor gentleman raised himself up in his bed, and told them, now he defied Sir William and all his persecutors; and so laying himself down again

* Sir James Turner was a man of spirit, according to Burnet; and when examined respecting his authority for his conduct in the west by that party in the privy council hostile to Rothes and the Archbishop of Glasgow, as the government had used him harshly, he would not show his vouchers nor expose his friends. He himself says, "The reason I would not show them (his instructions) was, that I feared matter of complaint might be picked out of them, which would not at all save me; and this I was sensible enough of, that the showing them might wrong my lord chancellor, and doe me no good, for I was told that I was lyable to punishment for giving obedience to illegal commands."

in his bed, expyred before them all. There were also dangerous speeches proven against him, upon which they say the councill laid most weight; however, he was fyned in 300 lib. English, and banisht the kingdome. To court he went, and because Lauderdale would not reverse his sentence, men say he undertook designs against Lauderdale's life, and so left Brittain, and went into the Low Countries, where he was killed at the seige of the Grave, by a canon-ball carrying his heart out of his body, according to his ordinary curse, as his acquaintance observed.

These censures, tho' not very severe, yet made the world perceive our new governours believed ane injury might be done to a fanatick, and that they would walk by a rule which hade hardly been seen in Scotland for seven years before that time, when all that was done against them was approven. Meantyme they will not neglect the fanaticks. Mr Michael Bruce, ane Irish minister, who came to Scotland upon the return of bishops, and kept both great house conventicles and also field conventicles, which was at that time a very rare practise, there being but few ministers in Scotland who used to preach in the fields at that time: Him Captain Arskin, captain of Stirling Castle, apprehended with a party of souldiers, and in taking him wounded him very dangerously. Arskin hade a reward for his service, and so brought him before the councill, by whom, upon his own answers, he was banished Scotland for time of life. But when the court heard of it, they call for him. So up he was sent, and then ordered to goe for Tangier, there to serve; which punishment he scapt with great difficulty.*

* Bruce, who made a stout resistance when seized, and dangerously wounded one of the soldiers, is described by Wodrow as a worthy, useful, and affectionate preacher, a person of great boldness, and much love to souls. The following specimen of his oratory is taken from a sermon, entitled Soul-Confirmation, preached in the parish of

This summer our councill thought fitt, because the army was disbanded, to compense that losse by ordering a militia according to the act of parliament. So they modelled a militia of 22,000 men,

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Cambusnethen, in Clyds-daill. "The men of the world think they do us an ill turn when they bring many crosses and troubles upon us; little ken they that our Master can borrow the devil's wind to gar his ship sail the better to the harbour; tribulation shall blow us to the kingdom, and shall not blow us by it. But I may not stand to preface; that I may clear the words, you may see Paul and Barnabas, in verse 6, 7, 8, they are very busie preaching about every piece of their Master's work; and there is a poor criple man there, and they restore him to health, and all the countrie side wondered at that, and they call them gods: Barnabas they call Jupiter, and Paul, Marcurius, because he was the chief speaker, and they will do sacrifice to them. Well, there comes in some ill-minded Jews, and they trouble the libertie of the city wherein they are, and puts the countrie side to rise up, and stone them with stones: there is a strange guise, sirs, even now they will have Paul and Barnabas two gods, and they will sacrifice to them, and or ever I wote, they are at the stoneing of them. Who was so busie for a work of reformation, as our great men, and the whole body of Scotland? they will be for a covenant and a work of reformation; and now, if any body will own it, they will head and hang them. O! the change that comes upon men and women's spirits, when grace takes not a grip of them.

"— This soul-confirmation is such as excludes four. I trow your soul-confirmation came never that length yet. First, it excludes a weavering and tossing with every wind of doctrine, Eph. iv. 14, *For saints must be rooted and grounded.* It excludes you and your work, that has one religion this year and another religion the next year, and one religion with one company, and another religion with another. I will not give a gray groat for your religion. Therefore this confirmation excludes this teasting that is among many professors. Secondly, it excludes all double-facedness that is among many professors: there is many folk that has a face to the religion that is in fashion, and there is many folk, they have ay a face to the old company, they have a face for godlie folk, and they have a face for persecutors of godlie folk, and they will be daddies bairns and minnies bairns both; they will be *prelats* bairns, and they will be *malignants* bairns, and they will be the people of God's bairns; and what think ye of that bastard temper? Poor Peter had a trial of this soupleness, but God made Paul an instrument to take him by the neck and shake it from him: and O that God would take

horse and foot, through the country, but would allow no foot men to be armed in the western counties. The officers were men of their own choosing, who hade past the oathes in fashion, and it was

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us by the neck, and shake our soupleness from us! There is such a bastard-like soupleness among the professors of this generation, we can never get our neck stiffed, but they are ay for that thing they call prudence, which is the plague of this generation, it is the plague of God, being given over to joine with a course of *perjurie*; but I tell you in the name of the Great God, your prudence shall be called *perjurie*, and you shall put a shape upon it every day in the year; perjurie shall be naked before God and man, therefore I warn you in the name of the Great God, perjurie lyes at all your doors, that are not straight and even down for God to the utmost of your power.

" — O sirs, there is much of childish humors among us, but any of you that has win to soul-confirmation, ye have win beyond the reach of them. The more soul-confirmation he has, he puts the devil to the loss of two: he losseth his pains and his profit. The devil has the ministers and professors of Scotland now in a sive, and O as he sifts, and O as he riddles, and O as he rattles, and O the chaff he gets! and I fear there be more chaff nor there be good corn, and that will be found among us or all be done: but the soul-confirmed man leaves ever the devil at two moe, and he has ay the matter gadged, and leaves ay the devil in the lee side. Sirs, O work in the day of the cross!

" — Soul-confirmation, in the matters of God, is a rare engagement, and should be most studied. But do not mistake, thou may be seeking it, and yet thy Master keep it up from thee, untill thou be farder under the water, with many troubles, and then he will tryste thee with it, and never till then, in the 6 of John's Gospel, where Christ does a poor man good, and when the Pharisees heard of it, they find fault with it, and they trail him from this court to that court, and at last they give him a clash of the kirk's craft, they cast him out of the synagogue. Take tent of that, sirs, it may be some of you get a clash of the kirk's craft; that's a business, I warrand you, a fair dirdim of their synagogue; but I tell you news, sirs, the poor man lost not all by that means: For whan did he give the poor man soul-confirmation? it was when he was cast off by them, he took him and confirmed him in this, that he was the Messias. O! says the poor body, I can never come at soul-confirmation in the matters of God: I have ay a hink in my heart about the Covenant, and I have ay a hink in my heart about the work of reformation, and fain would I be soul-confirmed, if I could win at

indeed a very unjust oppression upon some poor heritors; for such a large proportion of land was appointed to furnish a horseman; in it there was ordinarly a laird, who did no more but mounted a

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it; very good, when thou would fain be over the staggering of thine heart, and thou is praying and wrestling against them, thy soul-confirmation, O Christian, is reserved to the stormie and troublesome time, and when thou is at the extremity of thy cross, then he will season all with a new confirmation. The man of the world says, what is your master doing at this time? He is idle. I will tell you two things he is doing at this time for me. And the first is this, that old long syne, communion manifestations that then I fain would have had, he kept them up till I had neither house nor harbour, he kept them up till I was forced to keep the bogs and the woods, then gave he me them there. And are they not als good for me, and something better, for now I am in no such hazard to be lifted up, as then I would have been. 2dly. My Master is doing this, he is confirming my soul in the truths of the Covenant, since the last storm I met with. These are the two things my Master is doing for me under my cross.

"— Soul-confirmation in the matters of God is not easilie wone at; and it is easily lost when it is attained: therefore you that keeps only your old job-troot, and does not mend your pace, you will not wone at soul-confirmation; there is a whine old job-troot ministers among us, a whine old job-troot professors, they have their own pace, and faster they will not go; O, therefore they could never win to soul-confirmation in the matters of God; and our old job-troot ministers is turned *curats*, and our old job-troot professors is joined with them, and now this way, God has turn'd the in-side out, and has made it manifest, and when their heart is hanging upon their brow, I will not give a gray groat for them and their profession both; therefore I charge you in the great name of the Lord to mend your pace, that you may win to soul-confirmation in the matters of God, as you would not have your inside turned out, as well as your old job-troot *curats*, and your old job-troot professors has done——Continue in the gathering up of a stock of Scripture truths in your bosom, and from that treasure and stock bring forth fruits new and old, when need requires: but beware of Scripture, for you may be your own neck-break: for there's many brings out of Scripture that wounds them in thir days. There is three Scriptures, that I think men and women is like to break their necks upon: and the first is in the 23 Mat., and they that plead for hearing and confirmation, they break their necks about the hearing of the scribes and pharisees. And spear at men and women why they do this? The 23 Mat. is as soon

lackey upon his own horse against the day of the rendivouze, and not one groat payed he; whereas the poor heritor was forced to contribute his proportion of money to maintain the laird's horse, as

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casten up. What do ye think of the 10 John, where Christ says, *My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me; and a stranger they will not follow:* but will flee from him that is a stranger; and why? because he is a thief and a robber, he had never God's call to preach. But I think the 23 Mat. shall be the neck-break of the most part of the professors in Scotland. And a 2d part of Scripture the most part of our clergymen break their necks upon, is in that 1 Cor. ix. 16. *Wo to me if I preach not the gospel.* Whenever they would take the sinful courses of perjurie by the end, then wo to me if I preach not the gospel. Wo, wo to thee for preaching of it, for our Master never gave such preachers a call to it. Better to be silent than a sinful speaking. A 3d Scripture is in Amos 3. *The prudent shall keep silent at that time.* It is an ill time, what need you speak a word for the cause; *the prudent shall keep silent at that time.* Now, I fear you and your wrested Scripture, that you gar speak and bow to your practice, come foull off. But the business I drive at is this; have you a stock of Scripture in your bosom, that when the devil and men stile a cannon of tentation, wrested upon Scripture, you may bring out a cannon of Scripture out of your bosom, and ding the devil and his cannon, backed upon wrested Scripture, both down the brae. There is a cannon stated upon Scripture against Christ, in Mat. 4. 'It is written,' says he, 'concerning thee, he will give his angels charge over thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up,' &c. Well, says Christ to Satan, will you take the Scripture to be a standing place for your cannon?—Wa! then it is written, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God:* there he drives and dings the devil away, and his ill-hatched Scripture, with the best bits of it, down the brae. Therefore have a stock of Scripture in your bosom, that when the devil or men stile a cannon at you on wrested Scripture, you may ding them both down the brae. 4thly, Continue daily in receiving the word of God: O suck, suck till ye come to the marrow of the matter. There is three pieces of news I have to tell you in the paroch of Cambusnethen. 1st. That the bairn that sucks most at these breasts, shall be the thrivingest bairn in all the paroch. Then suck, O sirs, suck, and be dowing bairns; suck at these breasts, as new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the word; and ye shall thrive, whilst other folks that suck upon debates and delusions shall wither, &c.—The men of the world says, ye shall never be made free again, ye are commanded by acts of parliament. Never trouble ye your head with

if he hade been bought for the use. And now, when all was settled, our moderate governours began to talk of a liberty for presbyterian ministers to execute their ministry without dependence on the bishops. The Earle of Tweddale, who was never cruell nor ane enemy to godly men, was frequently upon this project with Mr Robert Douglass and Mr John Stirling, his own paroch minister.*

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that, and we continue in the faith, we shall be made free by acts of parliament in heaven. The men of the world makes a great deal of bragging, that they are free by acts of parliament: Why should not acts of parliament make men free? But if we get the faith continued in, we shall be freer than they with all their acts of parliament. And lastly, this is necessarie, because by continuing in the faith thou exoners thyself at the hands of thy father, and at the hands of thy children, and at the hands of thy posteritie to come. Our perjured folk in Scotland never thinks they stand in need to be exonered from their fore-fathers or from their posteritie; O sirs, are you faithful to them that went before you, and to them that is to follow after: Now, what have you done to exoner yourselves at their hands, who travelled many a night and many a day to get the Covenant and work of Reformation brought particularly to the pattren, and they committed it to you whole and sound at your door, and what a maggled work you have made it now, the heavens and the earth may bear witness: black is the compt that the Christians are to make for betraying of the work that their forefathers left at their door, which was to be transmitted whole and sound by you to your posterity; and they are transmitting nothing to them but bladdrie instead of wholesome good, and dross and counterfeit instead of real gold."

* The following letter from Lord Tweedale to Lord Linlithgow, transcribed from the original, which in some places is illegible owing to damp, proves, that the presbyterians gave him more credit for compassion towards godly men than he really deserved.—The preacher Bruce, mentioned in it, is the same person who occurs above.

"TO THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.

"My Lord,

"I had yours of the 15 from Glaskow on Tewsday, and am glad it was noe wors with that country then it was represented, and that it is better since you cam there; nor doe I questione bot thes peopel will be very quiet and towardly soe long as they

It was at first very welcome news, and the discourse continued till ane unhappy accident marred the design. The accident was this.

One Mr James Mitchell, a weak scholar, who hade been in armes with the whiggs, resolves he will kill Bishop Sharp, and for this

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are weal look'd to, but your lordship knows the counsel's desing reachith furder then to make them peaceable, (when the rod is over their head) which I beleive your lordship will follow as far as possible, for iff ther be not som of thes turbulent peopel catched, all is in vayn: when they are chased out of one place they will flie to another; for God's sake therfor endeavour by all means possible to learn where they haunt, and whether they ar gon; and I suppose your command is not confynd within the shyres of Clydsdale and Air, bot you may send partys to catch them wher they can be had, wer it 100 miles off, especialy that Mr Michael Bruce, who Edin. had given out amongst his followers that he Ireland, wherefor the ports wold be looked to him bak to his hous at Airth. In any wher in that I am sur you can have intelligence ther of him, and the E. Callender will asist you. I confess I had rather you catched him, or any of that sort, as any body els did, (and ther is ways enew layd for them,) it could not but be kind good service, and the best at present could be doun both king and country. Pray you, my dear lord, sett about it vigorously, and employ persons for doing it. They will not want a reward, and if my promis signify any thing, I assure it. My letters of the 12 tell me that all your comissions ar now ready wreatten, and that my lord secretarie waits only ane opportunity to get the king to sing soe many. If you have any succes befor nixt councel day in your affairs ther, I think it will not be amise you com in yourself, since you leave Kelly behind. You see what freedom I use. I think it sutable to our relation and friendshipe; and you are pleased to allow it to, my lord, your most faithful and humble servant,

"TWEEDALE.

"*Yester*, 22 *May*, 1668."

Some prominent features of Lord Tweedale's character are given in the subjoined "Elegie, on the Right Honourable the Marquise of Tweedale."—*MS. penes me.*

"Thirteen times sworn, twelve times perjur'd, what then?
He was of size above the most of men;

provides himself with a case of loaden pistols. One day after dinner he waits for the bishop as he was to come from his lodging into his coach. At length down comes Sharp, with Honyman, Bishop of Orkney, at his back. Sharp enters the coach first, and

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He, regulate by higher notions, saw
Where lyes the binding force of human law;
That it no longer tyes than the supreme
Continues such, and justly claims that name:
Let that power lodge in many hands or few,
He thought that there alledgeance still was due,
When power was to protect; but where was none
In any prince, he loos'd was from that one.
Thus, 'mong the various changes which he saw
He changed still, but by this par'mount law;
Conform this principle, he did abjure
The race of Stewarts, and the regal power
In Charles the First, and, like a worthy sanct,
He took the Tender and the Covenant,
To Charles the Second swore fidelitie,
And took the Test with great sinceritie,
And own'd King James, but when he fled to France
He him disown'd, and swore alledgeance
To's son-in-law, and did associat
That he would ne'er his sovereign re-admit.
And had he lived till he came back again,
By the same principle, he would have taen
Ane hecatomb of oaths at his command,
And been true while the power was in his hand.
Great soul! who all this time this maxim knew,
And seventy years the samine did pursue
Most reg'larlie; who will you not commend,
Since most act thus, whatever they pretend!
The presbyterian principle comes most nigh
To yours, and they act consequentiallie.

takes his place; then Mitchell drawes near and presents his pistol, while in the instant Honyman steps into the coach boot, and, lifting up his hand that he might enter, receives upon his wrest the ball that was design'd for the bishop. So Sharp scapt at that time. After the shot, Mitchell crosses the street quietly, till he came near Nidrie's Wynd head, and there a man offered to stop him, upon which he presents the other loaden pistol, and so the pursuer leaves him; there he stept down the wynd, and, turning up Steven Law's close, enter'd a house, and shifting his cloaths, past confidently to the street. The cry arose, a man was killed. The people's answer was, It's but a bishop; and so there was no more noise. The councill conveen'd presently to deliberate how to find the assassinate; but because that they could not doe, they emitt a proclamation, offering 2000 merks to any that shall discover, and 3000 merks to any that shall apprehend, the assassinate; and more they did not this day. This happened in June, 1668.* Also the magistrates of

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Only the poor deluded jacobites
Whom we slight as the rubbish in the streets,
Have confidence to clamour and to bawl,
And you, my lord, a temporiser call;
Let them bawl on!—we know well what to say,
It's only time, when sun shines, to make *Hay*,
And for that end, to imitate Saint Paul,
In prudence to become all things to all;
And whosoe'er they be act otherwise,
They know not how their libertie to prize;
A libertie that's boundless as your mind
I'th' motto of your scutcheon contain'd,
SPARE NAUGHT.

* Wodrow styles Mitchell a youth of much *zeal and piety*. "*From what motives I say not*, he takes on a resolution to kill the archbishop!!" *Vol. I. p.* 292.—If we may cre-

Edinburgh cause search the town to apprehend the assassinate, but catcht nobody, tho' the town was full of whiggs; and indeed some of them scapt very narrowly. Maxwell of Moncrief, one of the greatest gentlemen upon the party, because he was unacquaint in

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dit Dr Hickes, he was originally, in attempting to procure ordination, rejected for ignorance by the presbytery of Dalkeith. "After this repulse he began to project some other way of living, and was shortly after recommended to the Laird of Dundas, to be pedagogue to his children, and domestick chaplain for saying extemporary prayers. He passed sometime in this family for a gifted and very holy young man, till some of the servants observed an extraordinary familiarity betwixt him and a young woman, who was the old gardener's wife. Being possessed with this suspicion, they observed him the more, and one night as they were watching, they saw his mistress go to his chamber, which was a summer-house built on the garden-wall. The key, as it happened, was left on the out-side of the door, which one of those that watched observing, gently locked the door upon them, and immediately ran to call his master, who came to the garden to see what would be the event. After they had been as long as they pleased together, at last *Hortensia* comes to go out; who, to her great confusion, finding the door locked, steps back to the adulterer, who, fearing that she should be taken with him, immediatly let her down the garden-wall, by the help of his shirt, she hanging at one end, and he holding the other, as naked as when he was born. His patron all this while beheld him like a filthy Priapus upon the garden-wall, and the next day in great indignation discharged him of his service and house: I suppose this is one of his particular and private sins, which you'l find him hereafter confessing in his speech, deserved a worse death than he endured.

"Afterwards he came to Edinburgh, where he lived some years in a widow's house, called Mrs Grissal Whitford, who dwelt in the Cowgate, and with whom that dishonour of mankind, Major Weir, was boarded at the same time. By his conversation, it may be presumed that Mitchel improved much in the art of hypocrisie, and drunk in more deeply those murderous and treasonable principles which he afterward practised in the whole course of his life, and justified at his death. Now began he to converse with the most bigot zealots against authority, to frequent and hold conventicles, to preach up the covenant, and to the utmost of his power to promote the schism, which was begun in the church. By these practises he much endeared himself to his tutor Major Weir, who recommended him for a chaplain to a fanatical family, the lady

the town when the search was begun, came running into Nicol Moffat, stabler, his house in Horse-Wynd, as unsafe a house as was in Edinburgh, told the goodman he behooved to hyde him, for he knew of no shelter. Nicol answered, Alace! there is no safe place in his house. There was ane empty hogehead for holding meal that stood just at the head of the table; and Nicol told him, if he pleased to venture there, he should cover him with the covering, of which the poor gentleman was content. Within a little time comes the constable with his band of souldiers, and asks Nicol if there were any whiggs there? Nicol bids him search. This seemed to satisfie the constable; but because he and his men were very thirsty, they call for drink, and sitt down at this table close by the hogehead; and when they are drinking, they fall a talking of the unsuccessfullness of their search. One sayes, I know there are many whiggs in town, and it may be some very near us. Another knocks violently upon the covering of the hogehead, and swears it may be there is one under that, but they hade no power to goe further; and so, when

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whereof was niece to Sir Archibald Johnston, Laird of Warriston, one of the most furious rebels against the late blessed king. During his abode in this family, broke out the rebellion of the fanaticks in 1666. He no sooner heard of it, but joyned with the rebels, who were defeated at Pentland-hills. Mr Mitchel had the fortune to escape from the field, but was afterwards proclaimed traitor, with many other principal actors in the rebellion, and afterwards excepted by name in his majesties gracious proclamation of pardon, that he might receive no benefit thereby. From this time he skulked about, and sheltered himself among the rebellious saints of the brotherhood, till the devil tempted him to assassin the lord primate, for which he hath expiated by his blood."

Sir James Turner, in the Account of the Pentland Insurrection, says, "At Douglas I was accosted by one Mitchell, (whome I had never seen before,) a preacher, but no actuall minister, who spared not to raile sufficientlie against all authoritie, both supreme and subaltern."

they were gone, the poor gentleman comes out, but it may be he tasted the bitterness of death.

Another consequent of this unhappy attempt was the trouble that fell upon several honest people of the town in this manner: A certain infamous strumpet, who was entertained in the house of one Robert Gray, merchant, for helping the household bussiness for some dayes, upon a discontent with her mistress runes to Bishop Sharp, and assures him she can both discover the receptacle of the whiggs, and also find the assassinat. Sharp makes her very welcome, gives her money, and provides for her security; as also he greases the Advocate Nisbit well, to make him active in the pursuite. Upon this information Robert Gray is brought before the councill, and strictly interrogate whether ever any whiggs used his house? He knowing well what was discovered, answered, that such a day Major Lermont his cousine, with one Welsh and Mrs Duncan, (a presbyterian minister's widow,) hade dined in his house. Thereafter they asked if he knew who was the assassinat? which he denyed. The advocate will have him to swear, which he refused, being against all law that a man should swear in such a case. Then the advocate takes his ring from his finger, and sends it by a messenger of his own to Mistress Gray, the man's wife, instructing the messenger to tell her that her husband hade discovered all he knew, and to desire her to doe the like, and in token thereof hade sent his ring. The poor woman upon this discovers some more than her husband hade told, informing them of some houses where the whiggs haunted, such as Mistress Crawford, Mistress Kello, a rich widow, where Mr John Welsh used both to lurk and preach, and Mistress Duncan. These three poor women are incarcerate upon this. But when Robert Gray heard how his wife hade been deceived with his ring, the poor

man took such grief he presently took bed and died, leaving his blood upon the advocate's head. The three poor gentlewomen were brought before the councill, and strictly interrogate concerning houses that lodged whiggs or kept conventicles, or if they knew the assassinat's name? All which they refused to answer; then they threaten them with the boots of pain, and one day brought the executioner with the boots into Mrs Duncan's presence, assureing her she either behooved to answer as they required, or goe to the torment; but still she continued resolute, and hade indeed endured the torment that day, if it hade not been Rothes his courtesy, who told the councill it was not proper for gentlewomen to wear boots. However, they were made prisoners for a long time, and Mrs Kello sore fyned, but at length with great difficulty were liberate.* Certain it is that Nisbit carried himself so spitefully, that his familiar friend, Sir Archibald Primrose, thought it necessary to tell

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* The heroine of a poem, entitled "The Presbyterian Pope," complaining to the kirk-treasurer of Edinburgh respecting the pious women who encroached upon her occupation, expresses herself thus:—

"Wi' bibles and psalm books they cant
As ilka ane of them were sanct,
Wi' holy keckle, pegh, and pant,
And greet and grain,
That every godly Bow-head plant
Gaes now to them.

"Repeating lectures, sermons, graces,
Telling saul-exercise and cases,
And making sic wast-country faces,
That I sair fear
That we may a' resign our places
If they thrang here."

him in his manner, " Thou old rotten devill, what art thou doing? thou will never rest till thou turn the fury of this people from the bishop upon thy self, and gett thy self stabb'd some day."* Another act of cruelty they committed at this time was: Upon pretence of searching for the bishop's assassinat, they seized Mr James Gillon, late minister at Cavers, and made him run on foot from Curry (whither he hade retired for his health) to the West Port of Edinburgh at midnight, and then was carried to prison; and when the councill found the mistake, they did indeed suffer him to goe to his chamber; but his cruell usage hade disordered him so, that within two dayes he died.

But ever since the defeat at Pentland hills, the presbyterian interest seemed to gather strength. The constancy of the sufferers, the laying aside Turner, and military executions in gathering the fynes, Bishop Sharp's disgrace at court, made the noblemen weary to chase poor people to hear ane ignorant scandalous curat against their hearts. So the conventicles grew both more numerous and more frequent; the curats' churches were more and more dishaunted every day. But something the bishops and their friends will doe to prevent this growing mischief; and the course they took was, to call before the councill the ministers who preached at the conventicles, to have the pain of sedition inflicted upon them. M'Kenzie, Bishop of Murray, obtained of the councill ane order to the Earle of Murray and Lord Duffus to apprehend and incarcerate Mr Thomas Hog and Mr Thomas Urquhart; and they were accordingly apprehendit and incarcerate in Forres, but very speedi-

* Bishop Burnet characterizes Sir John Nisbet as " a man of great learning, both in law and in many other things, chiefly in the Greek learning: he was a person of great integrity, and always stood firm to the law."—BURNET'S *History, vol. I. p.* 279.

ly, by a letter from Tweddale, they were liberat upon bayle, to appear when called. About this time also the Lord Cochrane was made Earle of Dundonald, and he, to shew his zeal for bishops, ordered Cockburn, ane officer of the life-guard, to bring before the councill, sitting at Air, several ministers in that countrey, who ordinarly preached in their houses. Their names were Masters William Fullerton, Alexander Blair, John Spalding, Hew Archibald, Andrew Dalrymple, James Vetch, James Alexander, John Gemmil, John Hutcheson, John Wallace. When the committee hade examined them, they inclined to have dismissed them, but Dundonald would have them brought before the secret councill, and to Edinburgh they came. A committee of the councill examined them, whether they hade preached since they were laid aside, or whether they admitted any more to their exercise than their own families, both which they confessed. Then they asked them what they minded to doe for the future: They answered, they purposed to demean themselves peaceably and soberly as they hade hitherto done, and to give no offence: which they upon command subscribed; but because it was ordinary for some to offend at ministers' behaviour when they appeared before the councill, they were censured as to faint in avowing and defending their practise of preaching the gospel, (they being the first that ever were questioned for that practise;) and because the word living peaceably was of dangerous signification, therefore they agreed upon the materials of a speech, wherein they should expresse their mind concerning their ministry, and the necessity of exercising it, even in their circumstances. Mr William Fullerton delivered the speech, wherein, after a long protestation of loyalty, he declared, that as they hade received their ministry from Christ, for which they were to be answerable to him, they durst not forbear their ministry, desireing earnestly the councill would interpose with the king that they might have the same in-

dulgence in Scotland their brethren hade in England and Ireland. The councill heard them patiently, and all the censure they inflicted was, that for what was past they would forbear them, but by ane expresse act discharged them from doing so any more upon their perrill, and so dismiss them; but that same day they appointed a strict proclamation to discharge conventicles under heavy fynes, upon heritors and tennants to be found guilty of that crime.

The ministers returned to their houses, and preacht thereafter to meetings very numerous,—some in house, some in their courts, some in the field; and one of them preacht so plain upon Isai. 32. 5, and declared the properties of a churle, so that every one of his auditory applyed the text to Dundonald.* About this time also,

* The preacher was Mr Matthew M'Kail, father, as Wodrow supposes, to Mr Hugh, who was hanged after the affair of Pentland. Though the sermon was much talked of, the minister escaped without punishment. Such abuse of the pulpit the presbyterians inherited from the first modellers of the Scottish reformation, who scrupled not to call Darnley Ahab to his face, and to designate his wife by the odious name of Jezebel; and this rudeness the reformers defended by alleging, "that the prophet Esaias used sick manner of speiking; and it was no doubt but that he was weill acquainted in the court, for it was supposed that he was of the king's stock. But howsoever it was, his words mak manifest that he spak to the court and courteours, to judges, ladies, princes, and priests." KNOX's *Hist. p.* 315.—Sir Thomas Urquhart, in his Jewel, bitterly enlarges upon the behaviour of three ministers, placed in those parishes whereof he was patron,—"Master Gilbert Anderson, Master Robert Williamson, and Mr Charles Pape, by name, having done what lay in them for the furtherance of their own covetous ends to his utter undoing: For the first of these three (for no other cause but that the said Sir Thomas would not authorize the standing of a certain pew, in that country called a desk, in the church of Cromarty, put in without his consent by a professed enemy to his house, who had plotted the ruine thereof; and one that had no land in the parish), did so rail against him and his family in the pulpit at several times, both before his face and in his absence, and with such approbrious terms, more like a scolding tripe-seller's wife then

diverse more ministers were cited or brought before the councill, such as Mr James Currie, Mr Andrew Morton, Mr James Hamilton; but all of them were so gently used, and scapt so easily, their punishment was rather ane encouragement to the presbyterians to take heart than a terror to destroy the conventicles; so both ministers and people grew confident, and the persecuting party became cold and sober for that season. The bishops and their friends used another device to keep the country in order: They gott so many exactors appointed to collect the fynes of these who keept not their paroch church, or haunted conventicles; and these were, first, Mr Nathaniel Fyfe, a poor advocate, and alleyed to one of the bishops, he got for his province Kyle and Carrick; the Sherriff of Nithsdale, brother to the Earle of Dumfreis, a man only famous for oppressing the poor, he got Cunninghame; Nithsdale, a papist, he got Galloway; Houshill got Renfrew; and Clidsedale was referred to Duke Hamilton. They got money from the councill to encourage them; but because they might not leavy the fynes by military force as Turner did, but behooved to pursue the offenders before the sherriff by law, the sherriff made the process so diffi-

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a good minister, squirting the poyson of detraction and abominable falshood (unfit for the chaire of verity), in the ears of his tenandry, who were the only auditors, did most ungratefully and despitefully so calumniate and revile their master, his own patron and benefactor, that the scandalous and reproachful words, striving which of them should first discharge against him its steel-pointed dart, did often times, like clusters of hemlock, or wormwood dipt in vinegar, stick in his throat,—he being almost ready to choak with the aconital bitterness and venom thereof, till the razor of extream passion, by cutting them into articulate sounds, and very rage itself in the highest degree, by procuring a vomit, had made him spue them out of his mouth into rude indigested lumps, like so many toads and vipers that had burst their gall."—See also a *Sermon preached by the Rev.* ROBERT DOUGLAS, *at the Coronation of King Charles the Second at Scone.*

cult, the exactors wearied of the pursuit; so their employment was short, and the hurt they did was but small.*

Now every body came to say, it were better there should be liberty granted to dissenters in Scotland, who could not be subdued to the bishops, then that the land should be laid waste to make room for bishops. And as the country cryed for it, so our great men promised it, and begane in private to shape the form of it, especially the Earle of Tweddale, who was frequently in discourse about it with Mr Robert Douglasse and Mr John Stirling. Lauderdale was ever thought to have retained his old maxims till his unhappy second marriage, and till he made Hatton his brother his substitute in the government. Indeed, after these two he brought forth little other fruit than his serving his wife's avarice, and his brother's violence. So at length Tweddale, at that time in great favour with the king and friendship with Lauderdale, made a voyage for court, and brought down with him the first letter of indulgence. In it the king allowes his councill to appoint such of the presbyterian ministers as hade been ejected by the act of councill at Glasgow, 1662, to preach and exerce their ministry in vacant congregations and churches, with consent of the patrons, requireing these ministers to attend their respective presbytries and synods, otherwayes to have no right to the stipend, but only to the manse and glieb, and to confyne themselves to the limits of their respective paroches. Requireing them also to keep fair quarter with their neighbour ministers the conformists, and not to admitt any of any other congregation than their own to their sermons or sacraments, and that at their highest perril. Also, he allowes a pension of 400 merks to

* About this time two gross outrages were committed upon the episcopal clergy by the whigs, who broke into their houses, beat themselves and their families, destroyed their furniture, and carried off what they pleased.—WODROW, *vol. I. p.* 316.

be payed yearlie to such of them as are found moderat peaceable men, till vacant churches can be provided. This was the substance of the letter, and it bare date June 7, 1669; but when it came to the councill-table, great was the opposition the bishops made to it, so that no use was made of it till Jully 27; upon which day the councill called before them some dozen of ministers, for whom friends hade procured a speciall indulgence to so many churches. And when they appeared, the councill read to them ane act containing the substance of the king's letter, commanding them all that are allowed to exerce the ministry, to keep presbyteries and synods, (that is, to join with the bishops) otherwayes confyning them within the limits of their respective paroches, discharging them strictly to admitt any of their neighbours' congregations, either to sacraments or sermons, except the congregation be vacant, and this upon their highest perrill. They gave them also another act of a line or two, telling them that the patron of such a church having consented to their settlement in such a paroch, therefore the councill appoints such a man to exerce his ministry at such a church, and this was all. The ministers being informed how the councill would proceed, conveened in private, and appointed Mr George Hutcheson, the most considerable of their number, to declare in their names, that whatever the councill said or did that might either look like, or really be Erastianism, it was their principle, they hade received their ministry from the Lord, with full prescription to direct them in the exercise thereof, (that is, none else they would acknowledge) upon which they were accountable to him; and giving thanks to the king for his favour, promising also all dutifull obedience, and desireing the same favour may be extended to their brethren, he concluded. This was the first view the presbyterians hade of their indulgence, and truely even at the first glance diverse deformities appeared in it. It was derived from the king's supre-

macy, and so judged a bitter fruit of a bitter root. Ministers were obtruded upon diverse congregations, upon the consent of the patron without respect to the call of the people. They were required to doe evil, that is, to acknowledge episcopal government; they were made prisoners, and punished in the harsh indulgence. No body might partake of their ministry, that they might keep good neighbourhood with the curats, and that was to conform their sinfull ministry. Some answered, that hard beginnings were good; afterward the indulgence would be made both clear and large. Indeed this answer was not received, for the first view was the fairest: The longer it continued, the more grievous it became. So that the dispute turned upon these terms, Whether it was really a favour done to the presbyterians, or only a snare to wheedle them into destruction? And certainly ane ambiguous overture it behooved to be, that was called friendship to the presbyterians, but could never pass at the council table till it was demonstrate by the chief advocates for it, (particularly my Lord Stair), that it would prove the ruine of the presbyterians, both because ministers were shut up from visiting the countrey and watering the dissatisfied party; and likewise because correspondencies among ministers were broke, and no fear there was of new ordinations, that which the bishops abhorred most of all. And because it was in effect to extinguish the presbyterians, I can never think but the contrivers of it designed to give the bishops the weathergage, the real advantage, and to give the presbyterians a false medicine to skin the ulcer before it was cleansed. However, all the ministers named by the councill were willing to accept, and by the consent of their brethren also all the people of Scotland were willing to own their ministry; and, indeed, it was observed, some of them hade as great assistance in preaching the word as ever at any time before, only Mr John Brown, one of the exiled ministers in Holland, wrote over to Scotland (as he

did frequently), and in a small treatise, endeavoured to prove the unlawfullness of undertaking a charge by virtue of the indulgence; yet this hindered not the people of Scotland (especially the gentry) to procure licences for ministers, nor yet the councill to goe on for half a year's time, during which space they past about 43 ministers (men of all sorts), and then they shutt the door. But because Mr Hutcheson's discourse, tho' generall enough, hade offended them, they never suffered any indulged minister to appear before them after him, but sent alwayes their act and licence to every one privately, lest they should perchance have been troubled with a more clear declaration or protestation.

As soon as the ministers were once entered and settled in their churches, they began then to understand their own case better than before. For, first, the councill took upon them to direct them in the duties of their ministry and worship, particularly discharging them to lecture upon the Scripture under the pain of losing their ministry. And shortly thereafter they sent west a committee, partly to protect and vindicate the curats, who were disturbed by some of their people; and partly to inspect the ministeriall behaviour and censure the errors of the indulged ministers, whose Ordinary they were pleased to call themselves. Then men began to perceive what they did not apprehend. However these ecclesiastick visitors thought good to call before them all the indulged ministers in the west, and strictly to examine their ministeriall behavior, chiefly whether they obeyed the councill's act discharging lectures? to which question few of them gave that answer that satisfied either their visitors or their party. Many of them also at that time changed their way, some of them changed their practise; when, as formerly, they used only to read a part of a chapter, or one whole chapter at most, they begune then to read two chapters, which though (as they pleaded) it was near the form of the directory, yet it was not approven, that they

should enter themselves at such a time to the schoole of ane Erastian magistrate to learn from him to worship God. Some of them read a whole chapter, and without praise or prayer choiced one verse for the text of their sermon; and so they thought they lectured in going through a chapter, and might be said not to lecture, because they made the whole chapter one text, and so might please both a jealous people and ane usurping magistrate. Some of them lectured in place of the afternoon's sermon, and some of them laid it wholly aside; these courses no body thought were either ingenuous, or constant, or wise. And when they were challenged, whether they observed the 29th of May or not? They answered and practised the same way they lectured. When the visitors returned, Duke Hamilton related to the councill the five ridiculous wayes they both observed and not observed that day; for some of them appointed their weekly sermon upon that day of the week which would fall by course to be the 29th of May for that year, some catechized that day, some baptized, some married and exercised on a chapter, and some made evening exercise as on other nights. These practices, instead of satisfieing both parties, offended all, and were nothing for their honour. Mr John Livingston, minister of Ancrum, than ane exile in Holland, a person of great worth and authority, in a letter he wrote to his parishioners, heavily complained upon their behavior, tho' he commended the men themselves. These, and the like, made the honest men's lives bitter and their ministry uncomfortable.* But,

* "At first the people of the country went to them," says Burnet, "with a sort of transport of joy, yet this was soon cooled. It was hoped, that they would have begun their ministry with a publick testimony against all that had been done in opposition to what they were accustomed to call the work of God. But they were silent at that time, and preached only *the doctrines of Christianity*. This disgusted all those who loved to hear their ministers preach to the times, as they called it. The stop put to

beside the vexation they hade from the councill and the visitors, they were attended with a sort of rivals, whom our governours sent west to darken their ministry by the excellency of their gifts, which our councill hoped would either make the indulged ministers unsavoury and tasteless in respect of their Hectors whom they sent, or at least would make the world say, the people of the west countrey were ignorant and unreasonable, if they slighted or disrelisht them. These were by the countrey people called in a mock the bishop's evangelists.

The men were, Mr James Nairn, their paragon, a man of gifts, but much suspected as unsound; Mr Gilbert Burnet (of whom before) a man more disdained in the west countrey than followed at

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the indulgence made many conclude that those, who had obtained the favour, had entred into secret engagements. So they came to call them the king's curates, as they had called the clergy in derision the bishop's curates. Their caution brought them under a worse character, of *dumb dogs* that could not bark. Those, who by their fierce behaviour had shut themselves out from a share in the indulgence, began to call this erastianism, and the civil magistrate's assuming the power of secret matters; they said, this was visibly an artifice to lay things asleep with the present generation, and was one of the depths of Satan, to give a present quiet, in order to the certain destruction of presbytery. And it was also said, that there was a visible departing of the divine assistance from those preachers: they preached no more with the power and authority that had accompanied them at conventicles. So many began to fall off from them, and to go again to conventicles. Many of the preachers confest to me, that they found an ignorance and a deadness among those who had been the hottest upon their meetings, beyond what could have been imagined. They that could have argued about the intrinsick power of the church, and episcopacy, and presbytery, upon which all their sermons had run for several years, knew very little of the essentials of religion. But the indulged preachers, instead of setting themselves with the zeal and courage that became them against the follies of the people, of which they confessed to myself they were very sensible, took a different method, and studied by mean compliances to gain upon their affections, and to take them out of the hands of some fiery men, that were going up and down the country among them. The tempers of some brought them into this servile popularity, into which others went out of a desire to live easy."

London, for tho' he speaks the newest English diction, he spoke never the language of ane exercised conscience.* Another was Mr Laurence Charters, a silent grave man, but most unfitt to make countrey proselytes because of his very cold utterance, men wondered he should have undertaken it; then Mr James Aird, commonly called Mr Lighten's ape, because he could imitate his shrugge and grimache, but never more of him; Mr Patrick Cook, so ordidinary man I have nothing to say of him; and Mr Walter Paterson, a man so obscure I never heard of him. The harvest they reapt was scorn and contempt; a congregation they could never gather, they never pretended to have made a proselyte. In some places some few went to hear them for once, and that was all; in some places they baracado'd the doors upon them, in some places stole the rope, in some places the tongue from the bell; so they quickly wearied of this foolish employment. But they would not serve the Lord for nought, for beside the stipend which belonged to the church where they served, every one of them hade a liberal reward from the councill; and Gilbert Burnet got money to buy soules, tho' I never heard he either purchased one, or reckoned for the money.* More-

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* Burnet's *diction* was originally much tainted with French. In his "Discourse on the Memory of that rare and truely virtuous Person Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun," 1665, he uses *skelete* for skeleton; and observes, that "malice and revenge only *bricole* on the doer," &c. In the pulpit he used great gesticulation.

> "Like some school boys their lessons saying,
> Who rock like fiddlers a playing,
> Like Gilbert Burnet when he preaches."
>
> CLELAND'S *Effigies Clericorum.*

"The Bishop of Salisbury," says Dunton, in his Life and Errors, "delivers his sermons with a great deal of zeal and action."

* Burnet himself gives this account of the success attending his mission:—"The people of the country came generally to hear us, though not in great crowds. We were

over, at this time Bishop Leighton was placed at Glasgow to administrate that bishoprick, while Burnet was laid aside. He, to shew that he was not a bishop of the ordinary strain, will shew himself both pure and peaceable, forsooth, as men of heavenly minds should be. And, first, because the countrey was full of complaints against the conversation of his curats, he constitutes a committee of curats, with power to receive the complaints made against any of them, and to judge in their processe. The committee hade no will of a wide door to encourage complainers, and therefore at first would gladly have made it a rule, that no man should be heard against a curat except he tooke the declaration; for this they were reproved by lawyers, and so laid it aside. But if any failed in proving his lybell, they made him confess his slander before the congregation in sackcloath. However, the evidence upon the complaint was so clear, that the curat of Killelland (and he only as I hear) was deposed, and 3 or 4 found very guilty were only transported. One infamous instance was much noticed in the conduct of this committee, and that was this. One Jaffrey, curat of Mayboll, sometime before alleadged he hade been assaulted for his life by his parishioners, and this he

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indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion: upon all these topicks they had texts of scripture at hand; and were ready with their answer to any thing that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers, and their servants. They were, indeed, vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of a most entangled scrupulosity; so that they found, or made, difficulties in every thing that could be laid before them. We staid about three months in the country: and in that time there was a stand in the frequency of conventicles; but as soon as we were gone, a set of those hot preachers went round all the places in which we had been, to defeat all the good we could hope to do. They told them, the devil was never so formidable, as when he was transformed into an angel of light."

proved by producing a book which hade been contused by a pistoll ball, and this book he alleadged hade saved his life; for he said he hade it upon his breast betwix his uppercoat and his doublet, but his uppercoat was neither pierced nor contused. However, he brought his complaint against his people before the committee that sat at Air about that time. This he did in hopes to get his paroch fyned in 100 lib. English, and the money to himself; but because he not only failed in his evidence, but by the circumstance of the action made all Scotland say he had contused the book with his own pistoll, no money he got but the hatred of his people. These, thinking they may now have justice before this goodly purgeing committee, accuse him there, and prove him guilty of many gross scandals, such as swearing, strikeing, fighting, and drunkenness; notwithstanding all which, the committee absolved him, which made Leighton so much ashamed, that out of the plenitude of his power he thought fitt to forbid him the exercise of his ministry in that place, and surely either the committee was unjust to absolve him if scandalous, or the bishop unjust to punish him if innocent. The proof the bishop gave of his peaceableness, was in his famous overture for ane accommodation, which was nothing else but a trick to bring the presbyterians into ane unperceived subjection to bishops. But the story was this: The commissioner Lauderdale, at Leighton's request, wrote to some of the most eminent indulged ministers in Leighton's diocie, Mr Hutcheson, Mr Wedderburn, and Mr Baird, to be at Edinburgh, Aug. 9, 1670. When they appeared, Lauderdale and Leighton propounded to them the overture for ane accommodation betwixt the two dissenting parties in the west, requireing them to give their judgement presently. They answered, the case concerned their whole party, and they hade no commission; so they hade a day in November following assigned, betwixt and which they should be clear. This happened the following year, but I put the whole purpose of the indul-

gence together. The substance of the overture was, since presbytries were now settled through Scotland, the presbyterian ministers should joyn in their respective presbytries and synods, where they should have their liberty to protest their judgement against episcopacy; that matters should be carried by a plurality of votes, and the bishop should pass from both his negative and positive vote. The ministers mett together both in the south and west, and unanimously refused this accommodation as inconsistent with their principles and consciences. Their reasons were, the presbytries were not legal, being founded only upon the bishop's commission, which he enlarged or straitned as he pleased; they were destitute of the essential power of the keyes, both ordination and jurisdiction, which the bishop reserved for himself; they wanted their constituents the ruling elders. The bishop was still bishop in the presbytry, and cloathed with episcopal power, tho' he should forbear the exercise of it; so going to the presbytery should be a homologation of episcopacy. It is true, the old presbyterian ministers hade kept presbytries, but these presbytries hade all the essentials of presbytries, so the case was not the same. However, Leighton insisted much upon it, and got a new meeting called, first at Paisley, where 26 ministers mett with him, and there he offered to alter his overture, but to the same purpose, and to none effect. And, lastly, the ministers were called before the chancellor, Duke Hamilton, and Tweddale, at Halyroodhouse, where Leighton offered to dispute for episcopacy against presbytery, which Mr Hutcheson refused, because against law. This made Gilbert Burnet, then present, to triumph that they would not dispute for Christ's kingdome. And this made Mr Wedderburn accept the challenge, if the chancellor would desire him; but the offer was not accepted, and so the bussiness concluded, and the project evanisht.

Moreover, this indulgence to a few was accompanied with the

persecution of the body. All the presbyterian ministers were banisht Edinburgh. Conventicles were punished with rigor and sometimes with cruelty. In June, 1670, happened the famous conventicle at Beeth-hill. The councill catched some that hade been present, and some of these they kept in irons five weeks. Charles Campbell and Robert Orre they banished upon ane act of parliament made after their crime, which was to refuse to betray their neighbours. Mr John Vernor they kept in irons at bread and water till his leg gangren'd, which cost him his life. This was thought ane ugly shaddow of ane indulgence. It was also thought ane unreasonable bargain, that for a licence to 40 ministers, all the presbyterians in Scotland should captivate their soules to the wretched curats through the countrey, and the body sell themselves for ease to a few. And though the presbyterians kept together, discontents and conventicles multiplied through the countrey all the time of this first indulgence.

LIB. VIII.

LAUDERDALE'S PARLIAMENT.

But while these things were in agitation in our church, our king hade another work upon the wheels of our state, wherein he was a little more concerned, and it was this. His grandfather, King James, loved never to adventure either his own peace or crown upon a forreign warre, nor seemed he much ambitious to enlarge our dominions, by encroaching upon his neighbours' territories. He spent his thoughts upon such designes as might rather make him absolute at home than powerfull abroad. His son Charles inherited the same genius, the same desires, and, therefore, those who were for a king's absolute power and non-resistance, and those who were for making kings lords of the subjects property, were his favorites, and so Sibthorp and Archbishop Abbot found it. In a word, they desired to have prerogative so enlarged that it should devoure priviledge, nor loved they to hear of such a dangerous word. The same designe was yet most of all conspicuous in Charles the 2d, by how much his thoughts were more sett upon pleasure, (which loves bounds large worse than either ambition or avarice,) as it was well known these were not his masters so much as the other. Now, that he might be as absolute in Brittain as the French king (his patron) was in France, there was but one impediment to be removed, and that

was the House of Commons, in the parliament of England; for tho' he might easily manadge the House of Lords, by his multitude of servants, officers, beneficiaries, and the dead weight of the bishops, (who were alwayes ready) or, as Tom Killigrew told him, tho' he might overpower his opposites in the House of Peers, by nobilitating his natural children, or creating noblemen whom he pleased, and to be master of the vote of the House of Lords at will, yet before it could be ane act of parliament it behooved to pass the House of Commons, and there he found alwayes so many peevish countreymen, who preferred the interest of England to the pleasure of the king, the bill used to be refused, and his darling design proved to be ane abortive. But how to be ride of this encumbrance was a bussiness of no small difficulty. To alter the constitution of the parliament, either by suppressing the House of Commons, or packing them in one house with the peers, would have been to overturn the foundamentals of England. And if the House of Commons continued in the possession of their power, the king could never be absolute. At length this expedient is judged proper and effectual; that the king shall first unite the two nations into one kingdome, and then make one parliament of both parliaments; which might excuse ane alteration in the frame of the English parliament. And as for the temper and inclination of the new moulded parliament, wherein lords and commons of England were to sitt with the lords and commons of Scotland, the king should not need to doubt it, for as he might be sure of the House of Lords in England, so he might be sure of both lords and commons from Scotland, where to contradict the king, and fight against the king, were judged both one thing for many years bypast, and every man's life was at the king's pleasure ever since the king's return, by reason of our arbitrary laws and arbitrary punishments. This was the spider web of the king's project, but it was coloured with the pretence of uniting the nations

for mutual advantage, the advancement of trade, and the communication of priviledges. However, the king choices for the advancement of this designe Lauderdale, who for many years hade governed Scotland by his secret influences, and must now for this reason appear above-board. So down comes Lauderdale, and indytes a new parliament to meet at Edinburgh, October 19, 1669. When the parliament conveened, the commissioner, Lauderdale, (as the custome is) opened the meeting with a solemn harangue, wherein, after he had given them double assurance of the king's resolution to maintain episcopal government against conventicles and all opposition, he laid before them the design for which they were called, and that was his majesties desire to unite the two nations into one unite entire kingdome, and gave them the pretended reasons of this designe in general, the mutual advantages that should accresce to both nations from this happy union, and this he did most heartily recommend to their care, and so concluded; obleidging all the members to sign the declaration. The next thing done, was the reading of the king's letter to the same purpose, wherein the king made high professions of making the island happy by a perfyte union, which (he said) should raise his satisfaction as high as his wishes. So the first question in parliament was concerning this designed union, and, indeed, there was no man so bold as to oppose it; onely one gentleman there was, Sir George Gordon of Haddo,* (tho' afterward he

* Afterwards Earl of Aberdeen, and Chancellor of Scotland. He had the misfortune to be crooked in his person, which seems to have been a source of much mirth to "that truely pious and eminently faithful, and now glorified martyr, Mr John Dick," who was hanged in the Grass Market of Edinburgh, 5th March, 1684.—Dick, during his imprisonment, wrote a long pamphlet, which he calls his Testimony, and had "still a conceit in his misery." He says, "I hope none will offend, if for my recreation I break here a jest or two, in reference to which I hope the rather I have my blessed

learned better to comply with court designes,) who made bold to re present one difficulty in the union, and it was this, what should become of the crown of Scotland, in case such a thing should happen that King James his family were extinct; at present both crowns have one heir to succeed in the divided kingdomes, but, if the two kingdomes were united, which of the heirs should succeed to the double crown. Shall Segnior the English heir succeed to the crown of Scotland? This shall be a prejudice to Hamilton the Scottish

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Master's permission, that therein I intend to do despite to and spitt in the faces of a few, such as have with most violence and hellish boldness, not only done despite unto the spirit, but also monstrously spitten in the face of my blessed Lord and Master: the nature of my jests shall be such as we call in Latin, *Seria mixta jocis*, and in broad Scots, half jest half earnest, &c. My second jest shall be this; I am apprehensive some may be of that opinion, that it shall befall me as it did that man, who for telling the truth could not get quarters anywhere. This man, being wandering towards the evening, meets with another, (I will not say it was our chancellor, but I think it was one like him,) who says to him, 'How now, friend, what do you, travelling so late?' The other answers, 'I can get no lodging.'—'Go with me, friend,' says the other. So they came home, and are not well set down, when the poor traveller being dry, calls to his landlord, 'Glied carl, send me the cup by you.' Upon which he takes his batton, and chaces the poor man out o' the door, under cloud of night. And, indeed, our chancellor to me was yet more unchristian and madly wicked; what could move the man's spleen I cannot guess: sure I am, whatever I thought, yet I called him not glied carl. It is like this has raised his passion, that I told him he had sworn, in the Test, that the act of supremacy, as explain'd, was horrid blasphemy. And was not this truth, as were all the principles and practices I there owned? And did I not offer from the word of God to vindicate this? Why am I then, by armed force, halled out of that house to another? (in this he was worse than the other glied carl, who let his guest go free, tho' he would not give him lodging.) And there I must be arraigned before the justices, who, to compliment the chancellor, or may be the Duke of York, must let the world see that they are as glied in their morals, as the other in his naturals."—DICK'S *Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland, and the covenanted Work of Reformation, &c.*

heir, and so unjust. Or shall Hamilton succeed to the crown of England? This shall be ane injury to Segnior the English heir, and so unjust likewayes. I never heard of ane answer to this objection, beside reproach and scoffe, from the commissioner; so upon this the parliament would not demurre, but after 3 dayes they wrote up a very satisfying letter, wherein they promise to the king their very hearty concurrence with his desire and design; promising, likewayes, that commissioners shall be impowered to treat with England upon this desireable union, and that his majesty shall have the nomination of the commissioners appointed for that effect from Scotland, reserving to the parliament of Scotland a power to determine upon overtures to be made or offered for this union, and in this they promise chearfull complyance with his majesties desires. When this letter was write, the great business of Lauderdale's errand was over; yet the better to hide the design somewhat more he must doe; so his first act was for turning the late act of alleadgeance, (as it was called) while it was dark, into ane act of supremacy, by clearing it to the full; and in it they grant to his majesty a papal power to establish such acts, orders, or constitutions, as either he, or any of his successors, shall think fitt, without either advice or consent of either general assembly or parliament, and this not only concerning matters of ecclesiastick government, but also concerning any matter to be propounded in any ecclesiastick meeting, (which truly after this are not very needfull in this church.) So by this act of parliament he hath more power allowed him to establish a new confession of faith, or a new religion, than to impose one penny upon our bread or drink. He made also another act concerning the security of the curats persons and stipends, and ane act forfaulting the poor whiggs, (who had been forfaulted by the justices before,) but this was to confirm what was formerly done; and so after some trifling acts concerning civill business, as they stand in print, he concluded this session

of his parliament, adjourning the next meeting till June 8 in the following year, 1670, but it was afterward continued till July 28 in that same year. Lauderdale stayed but short while in Scotland this time, and did little beside what he did in parliament, except his traffiqueing with the indulged ministers to have united them with the bishops, (of which I spoke before,) and that he obliged Bishop Burnet to demit the office of Archbishop of Glasgow; what the cause was is uncertain, but it was said, it was for words he spoke which Lauderdale resented; but be it as it will, he was laid aside for some years, and Leighton officiat for him, yet at length he came to his place again, and that by gross simony, as all Scotland said, and the story was this: Burnet's daughter hade been married to the Lord Elphingston's heir, who died from her, and left her possest of a considerable doury out of the weak estate. The next heir of the estate desires in marriage Hatton's daughter, which Hatton was very loath to grant, forasmuch as the estate was so sore burdened; at length this expedient is found, that Burnet's daughter shall renunce her joynture to free the estate for Hatton's daughter, upon condition his brother Lauderdale will restore Burnet to his bishoprick, and this was obtained by Hatton's power with his brother; so the bishop was restored, after some years, in the way of Simon Magus, but with better successe, for the bishop's money was accepted, which Simon's was not. Lauderdale made a very short stay in Scotland, for he gott to court at Candlemasse following, to give his majesty a comfortable account of his successe, and to tell him Scotland was as plyant as a glove toward the designed union, and the altered parliament.

The king hade conveened the English parliament at Westminster that very same day the Scottish parliament mett, and there at the opening of the meeting, first himself in person propounded the noble designe of uniting the two kingdoms, and recommended it to their consideration with great earnestnesse. Thereafter the keeper

inculcate the king's desire, urging it with many specious reasons; yet because the parliament of England smelled the designe, and knew it was their own destruction was sought for, all the time of that session it was not so much as motioned, and this not a little vext the king's heart; so he made a short session of it, adjourning them to February 14, in the next spring; but when that day came he found the parliament in some better humor; for because they knew well it was a great way to a conclusion and to ane altered parliament, therefore they thought nothing to complement him with a power to nominate commissioners for England, to treat with commissioners from Scotland, for uniting the two kingdomes in one, and making one parliament of two. Upon this the king complements them with ane act against conventicles, and recalls his licenses; and so far the king's beloved designe advanced. To further it in Scotland, down comes Lauderdale to hold his next session of parliament, which mett Jully 28th, 1670; diverse acts he made, as against enemies to bishops, against invaders of ministers, against disorderly baptisms,* and these who refuse to inform against delinquents, (that is, to tell whom they saw at conventicles;) but the most considerable were, ane act impowering those the king should name for compleating the union betwixt the two nations; and another whereby all that refuse to hear the curats are to be fyned, (providing they be of the reformed religion,) by which clause a sort of tolleration is proclamed to papists, and all laws made against them reduced. But the most cruel law was ane act whereby every minister that shall either preach in the open fields, or to a house so full of hearers that some shall be standing without doores, is condemned to deaht. Never was there such a law made in Scotland since the dayes of King Fergus,

* I fear all the bairns that are baptised by the curates, God reckons them as children of whoredom."—*Prelacy an Idol, a Sermon by Mr* FRAZER *of Brae.*

that a preacher of the true gospel of Jesus Christ shall be condemned to die for his labour; and, moreover, it is appointed, that whosoever shall informe against any such, shall have 500 merks for his pains; and this was in the midst of the time of our indulgence. But this was the rate at which Lauderdale served his dear master, the gracious king. However, after a moneth's session, Lauderdale adjourns the parliament till May 11, 1671, but it was continued till June 25, 1672, and then gets him to court, his proper element. After this, according to the commission of both parliaments and the king's nomination, commissioners meett from both nations, to unite the kingdomes, and alter or innovate the frame of the parliament of England, as was desired and projected. But because the people of England understood well the mystery of the designe, and there was nothing sought but the destruction of the House of Commons, (the protection of property and liberty,) and the rendering the royal power both absolute and arbitrary, therefore, when the commissioners mett, our Scottish commissioners (who would have been very willing to have exchanged purses with the English,) were so scoffed, and the bussiness so treated with ridicule, the meeting of the commissioners dissolved; and this was the end of the court designe, a plot as wyse as it was just, and as successfull as it was wyse, and no more of it.

That which hade sett the king upon this godly designe was said to be, that sometime before he hade (when he was confident of the multitude of his friends and pensioners in the parliament,) prepared a bill, whereby he should have been impowered in cases of extraordinary necessity (which he could have found every year) to raise money without a parliament; but the mercenary members finding that if parliaments were abolished, their vote in parliament would yeild no money, fell in with the honest party, and both refused it, which put his majesty upon a necessity of finding other means for attaining arbitrary power, and raising money at pleasure, or other-

wayes to stand upon his own feet without depending upon a loathed parliament. So if he could not be absolute at home, he resolved to be strong abroad, tho' he should pay for it; and therefore, rather than to be fettered with a peevish parliament's restraints, he concludes he will cast himself wholly upon the French king in this manner. Some years before, after the Dutch warre was ended, with good advice he entered into a league with the States General, to oppose the King of France his designs upon the Spanish Netherlands, which he desired to conquer; and because the King of Sweden also entered into the league, it was commonly called the triple league. This was thought one of the most honourable actions ever our king did, hade he been constant in it; but tho' many princes desired to enter into it, and England was highly satisfied with it, yet because his inclinations and councellors were for France intirely, he made of the triple league a Scottish covenant, that is, he soon dissolved it; but he hade more adoe yet. His inclinations to popery were very much suspected by many, even since his restauration; but because he was a king, it was dangerous to speak of him; and because he made so many professions publickly of his sincere zeal for the true religion, he was lookt at as a monster who seemed to doubt of it. It was well enough known to some that he hade sent over his son, the Duke of Monmouth, to be bred a papist, and that all his misses behooved to be papists,* and, moreover, how he used the poor protestants of

* Kirkton labours under a mistake here; for though the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth were popish, Nell Gwynn was a staunch protestant.—Vide, *A pleasant battle between two lap-dogs of the Utopian court; Tutty, belonging to Madam Gwynn, and Snap-short, to the Duchess of Portsmouth.—State Poems, vol.* 3.—It is true, that Burnet declares the king never treated Mrs Gwynn with the *decencies* of a mistress; on which Swift, in his Notes on the Bishop's History, asks—"Pray, what *decencies* are these?"—(Burnet's heroine, Queen Mary, by his own account, could have answered this question, for "*she understood well the decencies of things.*"—*Essay on the Memory*

France, whose fatal mistake it was to court and trust the English king. These poor people, perceiving their cruell king was resolved to extirpate them, sent over ane agent to our king to desire his friendship and protection, as Queen Elizabeth hade formerly helped them; and because he was to make a number of proposals to the king, he referrs the poor agent to his brother the Duke of York, to be heard at leisure; so a time is appointed, at which the duke places the King of France's ambassador behind the hangings in the room where the poor agent was to deliver his secret message, and there he heard all the protestants fears, desires, and resolutions, which (tho' not without abhorring the treachery of false friends,) he communicate to his master the King of France. Upon which the poor gentleman, the protestant agent, tho' he fetch a strange compasse on his return home, yet was catcht upon the borders of Switzer-

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of the late Queen, p. 144.) Nell affected to be extremely orthodox, and a friend to the clergy and the church. She certainly paid the debts of a clergyman whom she beheld in the custody of bailiffs, as she was going through the city; she presented a huge folio Bible to Oliver Cromwell's mad porter, who preached and prophesied to the edification of many after he was confined in Bedlam; and on being insulted in her coach at Oxford by the mob, who mistook her for the Duchess of Portsmouth, she looked out of the window, and said, with her usual good humour, "Pray, good people, be civil; I am the protestant w——e,"—which, of course, excited loud bursts of applause, and perhaps saved her from affronts, to which even females, who had at all distinguished themselves in politics, were about that time subject, when passing through the streets of Oxford.—Anthony a Wood, in his Diary, ad. ann. 1681, records "the outrage committed on the old Lady Lovelace, at Hunt's door, against the Crown Tavern, between 8 and 9 at night, by Mr Leopold Finch, son of the Earl of Winchelsea, Lord Buckeley, and 2 gentlemen commoners, Lutterell one, and 4 scholars, all of Christ Church; they plucked her out of her coach, and called her old *protesting* b——h, broke windows that night, and did many misdemeanours; one of the students, nephew to Mr Altham, is expelled; the townsmen and other envious people report, that they should say, they called her *protestant* b——h; the bishop extremely troubled at it; they had been drinking at the Crown Tavern."

land, and brought to Paris, where he was broke upon the wheell; and this was all the help our king made the protestants in France. This was enough to those who were wise to understand what he was, but the mystery is now to be discovered. The French ambassador, Croissy, hade long inculcate in our king's ear the misery of his circumstances in his government, and therefore the necessity of taking other measures to come to a happy state, persuaded him at last to throw himself upon the French king for his subsistence entirely; so betwixt them two this terrible league was contrived, but much advanced by the Duchess of Orleans, who came over to Dover, May 16, 1670, for that effect, and stayed only some few dayes and departed. The articles of this covenant betwixt these two kings, were, first, that the King of England should with all his power assist the King of France to extirpate and destroy the reformed religion in Europe; and that, in the first place, they two should begine and destroy the United Provinces, those enemies both to God and kingly government; that when these provinces should be conquered, the King of England should have Zeland (containing three poor towns,) for his share, or to be his retreat; that the King of France should assist the King of England against his parliament, till he arryved at absolute power in England, and the catholick religion were established in his dominions; that for this effect the King of France should yearly pay to our king the sume of half a million of English money; and this was his certain advantage by the bargain. It was commonly affirmed this covenant the dutchesse sealled with incest with her brother, and adultery with Buckinghame, the only witness to what past. She for her pains within 40 dayes was poysoned by her husband Orleans, upon the account of her intollerable amours with many, particularly Count de Guiche; the story of which is written in the French history of the royal palace, with as much confidence as the story of the French conquest in Flanders and Ger-

many. It is reported, that when she was under the painfull torments of the poyson, and in the agony of death, tho' she died a papist, when the priests were dressing her as a dyeing papist, she cryed out frequently, "O to be washt in the blood of the Lamb!" She hade indeed reason, and it may be was convinced of her uncleannesses; and many say her last meeting with her brother (which she desired so much,) was that which heightned her husband's fury more than all her former provocations. Alwayes this was her miserable tragick.* And when she left her brother, she left him a token, and

* The Duchess of Orleans was supposed to have been poisoned in a glass of succory water, prepared by the order of her husband, who could no longer bear the dishonour of her numerous infidelities; but the circumstances of her death are much more dubious than the amours which are said to have occasioned them. Though her intimacy with Louis XIV. may have been, on his part, a mask to his affection for Mademoiselle de la Valliere, it is to be presumed, in spite of Voltaire's insinuations to the contrary, that the duchess expected a different termination of an intercourse apparently so tender; and both the Count de Guiche and Monsieur de Treville were universally understood to be favoured suitors. While in the agonies of an excruciating death, she exclaimed, with much passion, "Adieu, Treville!"—And this speech brought an extraordinary fit of devotion upon her lover. BURNET's *Hist. vol. I.* As to the scandal respecting her brother King Charles, it ought not to be credited; and perhaps this young princess may be ranked among Defamation's most eminent victims, merely from an excess of natural tenderness towards her nearest relations. It was her singular fate to be suspected and accused of unchastity, not only with her husband's brother, and her own cousin, the King of France, but with her brother the King of England, and her nephew the Duke of Monmouth.

Her attachment to the Marquis des Vardes, while still connected with the Count de Guiche, was extremely unfortunate, and is said to have given Monsieur the first serious alarms respecting his wife's conduct. Enraged at Louis's desertion, the duchess confided her desires of revenge to Madame de Soissons, whom the king had misled in a manner not very dissimilar while yet Mademoiselle Mancini, and under the guidance of her uncle, Cardinal Mazarin. This countess, from her Italian extract, was prone to revenge, as from her education rendered capable of any wickedness; and probably it was fortunate for Louis that she had then no acquaintance with La Voisin, and the

that was Madam Caraval, afterwards the infamous Dutchesse of Portsmouth, who made so great ane interest in the king's affections, she hade no small influence upon the government, and was indeed

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other wretches whose confessions finally drove her out of France, else he might have anticipated the fate of Madame d'Orleans herself. She concerted with Madame the plan of forging a letter, as if from the King of Spain, to his daughter the Queen of France, calculated to rouse the jealousy of an injured wife, and interspersed with sundry contemptuous expressions regarding Louis, the weak but natural ebullitions of female resentment. This letter at first filled the King of France with surprise; but discovering the forgery, he employed De Vardes, Madame de Soissons' lover and confident, to detect the authors of the plot. Meanwhile the Duchess of Orleans had conceived a passion for Des Vardes, and now plainly told Madame de Soissons the state of her heart. The countess, most probably tired of her old admirer, or on terms with a new, resolved to imitate those magnanimous heroines of tragedy, whose conduct she had seen produce such brilliant situations on the stage; she sent for Des Vardes, and in the presence of the duchess releasing him from all his engagements, delivered him over to his new mistress. The poor marquis, who imagined this scene to be contrived as a trial of his constancy, declared himself incapable of change, and that in passionate terms towards Madame de Soissons, yet as respectful to her rival as his emotion would permit. But what lady can with patience bear the indignity of such a rejection?—Madame immediately resolved to ruin Des Vardes; and that she might save De Guiche, who was also implicated in the conspiracy, she informed him that Louis had been made acquainted with every circumstance of it, and exhorted him to leave France as soon as possible: the count followed her advice, and no sooner was he deemed beyond the frontiers than the king knew every thing. Swayed by the artful representations of the duchess, and partial to the object of his early love, (for even in later times the remembered charms of Mademoiselle Mancini could palliate the wickedness of Madame de Soissons,) he made Des Vardes alone feel the weight of his resentment; he was disgraced, and long detained a prisoner at Aigues Montes, where, however, he had the consolation of knowing that Fate speedily avenged his injuries in the duchess's death, premature, sudden, and attended with extraordinary torments.

About this period, also, the court of Charles the Second, all gay and liberal as it appeared, was tainted with the black crime of conjugal revenge, effected by means of poison. Lord Chesterfield's horrible device of destroying his wife, by the wine of the Eucharist, is well known, though in the MS. memoirs of that lord, written by himself,

ane useful instrument for the King of France. This covenant was kept as secret as it was wicked. Many suspected the Dutchesse her coming in haste to Dover, and no further, behooved to be for some strange reason, but few knew the true cause, till afterward time, the discoverer of secrets, put it in every man's mouth, and now in many histories. Those who knew of it wondered at it; our Scottish historians said, they could not paralell it in the history of the world. Our king hade formerly sold to the French king the excellent English tough timber, and hyred him English carpenters to build him as many ships as should make him lord of the seas, and sweep England of the ocean; and this was thought a very bad bargain, (the Norman kings would not have made it,) but it was nothing to this black league. Private men love their liberty better than their life,

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which the editor has seen, he pretends that the young countess died of the plague; and Sir John Denham was compelled to affect madness, in order to screen himself from the universal odium which the sudden death of his beautiful wife had drawn upon his hoary head.

> What frost to fruits, what arsenick to the rat,
> What to fair Denham mortal chocolat,
> A parliament is to this chancellor."—MARVEL'S *Poems*.

Sir Kenelme Digby was reported to have set the example of these atrocities, by poisoning his lady, Dame Venetia Stanly, originally seduced by Richard Earl of Dorset; who, after her marriage, "invited her and her husband to his house once a-year, when with much desire and passion he beheld her, and only kissed her hand, Sir Kenelme being still by. When her head was opened there was found but little braine, which her husband imputed to her drinking of viper wine; but spitefull women would say 'twas a viper husband was jealous of her. After her death, to avoid envy and scandal, he retired into Gresham College, at London, where he diverted himself with chymistry, and the professor's good conversation. He wore there a long mourning cloake, a high cornered hatt, his beard unshorne lookt like a hermite, as signs of sorrow for his beloved wife."—AUBREY'S *Lives, vol. II.*

but for a soveraign prince who compets for honour with the French king to sell himself, not only to be a perpetual servant, but a journeyman to work his task, and for one who profest himself a protestant, and communicat every moneth the English way, to covenant to destroy his own religion and the religion of his subjects, was really to sell his own soul and theirs also, and all for a pension of money which was never well payed, came never into the lords treasury; (Baptist May, the master of the privy purse, and the Dutch pictures can tell the world what way it went,) this was judged one of the basest bargains that ever a merchant who sold Christ made in this world, since Christ was sent to a mercate.*

Our old Redshank, King Achaius, who commanded but the mountains of Scotland, when he entered in league with Charles the Great, Emperor of Rome, King of France and Italy, and sent over to France his Scottish divines to teach France religion, and his philosophers to teach them civility, made a bargain of a nobler strain; and if he was not so rich and powerfull as the French king, would at least be free, and was acknowledged by him for his brother and equal. As this was known to few, so surely these who adored our king for a god, and the protector of the protestant religion, would deny it; but within a little time, one Mr Garroway of the House of Commons got a copy of it, and made no secret of it. Also the King of France permitted it to be printed at Paris, and publickly certified the emperor he hade engadged in a league with the King of England for the extirpation of heresy, that is, the

* It may be deemed almost needless to warn the reader against Kirkton's statement of many transactions, the true details of which are now well known to every body. The editor, therefore, has refrained from multiplying notes, which could serve little purpose but to swell the volume; yet here he cannot help remarking how strangely Kirkton has wandered from the truth in his account of the Secret Treaty, the emissary from the French protestants, and, above all, the projected union of the kingdoms, a beneficial measure which was rendered abortive by the selfish ambition of Lauderdale.

reformed religion; and after the French king hade hooked our king, he made no bones to print the treaty, and also became very slack in paying him his money, that so he might both render him irreconcileable to his parliament and people, and make him give himself absolutly to him to be at his disposall, since now he hade no other fond for subsistance. Now the King of France is King of England, the English king is the King of France his servant, England is a French province; and in all the King of France his woefull designes after this the King of England hath his share, and his journey work chalked out to him; yea, this league was the fountain of most of the troubles of Europe during the life of King Charles; yet when he or his friends talked in the English parliament, and hade a mind to strain money from it, they spoke of a warre with France, which behooved to be carried on according to the triple league, when God knowes he hade more mind to fight with England than France; but this disguise continued in fashion only for two year's time, and then the scene altered, and parties were changed. But whatever was in the dark league, certain it is, of all the leagues and contracts he made in his life, he kept this most religiously with his patron the King of France.

For two year's time after this league was finished, things in Scotland were very quiet: The advocate procured many a decree against conventicles, but they were not execute, at least many of them. The bussiness of the two confederate kings was to make warre and preparation for it, by which the Low Countries were to be conquered, and thereafter the heresy of the protestant religion to be extirpate, tho' all this time our king above board was corresponding with the United Provinces for the defence of the Spanish Netherlands against France, according to the articles of the triple league, but secretly concerting the warre with the United Provinces, and preparing for his share of the joynt warre France and he were to make. For this cause he received into favour Sir William Lock-

hart of Lee (a man once highly disdained by him), but one that might be of use at that time. And as soon as ever the warre broke out, the king employed him to the princes of Germany, to perswade them to concurre with France and England in the Dutch warre, which made the Marquese of Brandeburgh tell Sir William, he understood not what for a protestant the King of England was, who not only concurred for the destruction of the reformed religion himself, but desired his honest neighbours to doe it, tho' they constantly refused. Also when the Dutch warre begane, Lauderdale was advanced to be duke, and married his old miss in his lady's time, Elizabeth Murray, relict of Sir Lyonal Talmach; and such marriages use never to be blessed.* The first thing she did was to

* The Duchess of Lauderdale was the daughter of William Murray, son of the minister of Dysart, and nephew of King Charles the First's pedagogue, who got his young relation placed about the prince in quality of page and whipping boy;—that is, a slave to be chastised whenever his master should prove froward, in order to scare him with the sight of punishment. It is to be presumed that Murray's flagellations obtained the gratitude of Charles, whose favour he enjoyed during a long series of treachery. He sent a message to the governor of Hull, advising him as a friend not to admit the king, who was resolved, if master of the town, to secure and behead him—(*Life of K. James II. written by himself*), extorted forty thousand merks from parliament for revealing his benefactor's secrets, and finally procured the patent of an earldom, which was really signed at Newcastle, though he prevailed with the king to antedate it, in order to enjoy the precedence of some persons whom he hated.—(BURNET'S *History, vol.* 1.) He had two daughters, the eldest of whom, after her father's death, assumed the title of Dysart. She was a woman of great beauty, and of greater abilities;—to much quickness of apprehension and vivacity of wit, she added a considerable fund of literature, having made herself mistress of divinity, history, mathematicks, and philosophy. During her first marriage, she had been on very intimate terms with Lauderdale, and subsequently persuaded him that she had saved him from the scaffold after the battle of Worcester, his life being made a gift to her by Cromwell, who also was her admirer, and certainly accustomed to confer such presents; as we are informed by Walker, that, after the battle of Dunbar, he sent "a thousand of the wounded men *in a gallantry* to the Countess of Winton." At the restoration of Charles

separate betwixt the duke and the Earle of Tweddale, his cousin and friend; and so it came to passe Lauderdale hade no body by whom to influence the councill and kingdome of Scotland, except

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the Second, Lady Dysart imagined that Lord Lauderdale did not appear sufficiently sensible of the favours which she had bestowed upon him, and for some years a suspension of all intercourse took place between them; but her husband's death produced a reconciliation, which gave so much uneasiness to Lady Lauderdale, that she retired to Paris, where she died. When the Duchess of Lauderdale came down to Scotland, she took such state upon her, and proved so rapacious, that she speedily incurred the hatred of the whole nation, which vented itself in a variety of lampoons, (still preserved in MS.) more remarkable for their ill nature than delicacy. A parody was made on Lord Dorset's song, beginning, "Methinks this poor town has been troubled too long," which gives a list of the duchess's lovers.—

> "Methinks this poor land hath been troubled too long,
> With Hatton, and Dysart, and old Lidington,—
> While justice provokes me in rhyme to expresse
> The truth which I know of my bonnie old Besse.
> She is Besse of my heart, she was Besse of old Noll,
> She was once Fleetwood's Besse, and she's now of Athole;
> She's Bessie of church, and Bessie of State," &c. &c.

On the other hand, we find "The Muses Salutation to the Duchess of Lauderdale, 1672," in which Erato remarks,

> "Sparta for beautie famous once did shine,
> And Paphos gloried in her lovely Quene;
> They soqn were silenc'd when this westerne rose
> Onlie the buds and blossoms did disclose."

Sir John Reresby tells us, that in the year 1677 he "went to visit the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, at their fine house at Ham. After dinner her grace entertained me in her chamber with much discourse upon affairs of state: She had been a beautiful woman, the supposed mistress of Oliver Cromwell, and at that time a lady of great parts."—*Memoirs, p.* 49. After she had contrived to make the duke settle every thing he could upon herself and her son by Sir Lionell Tolmache, she was accused of

his brother Hatton,—the man of all that ever I knew in power in Scotland who believed most perfectly his own pleasure to be righteousness. And now after two year's time, all councills and prepa-

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using him most cruelly during a disorder brought on by old age, chagrin, and extreme corpulence. Lauderdale died in the year 1682; and his brother, who succeeded to little else besides his earldom, went to law with the duchess concerning her legacies, &c., and for a long while the heads of the Scottish judges were distracted with their litigation. The details, which are preserved by Fountainhall, from whose MS. the following notices are extracted, exhibit no very amiable picture of the duchess:—"Lord Lauderdale and his son Lord Maitland had signed a ratification of the rights of Lethington, Duddingston, &c. disponed by the duke to the duchess, but they endeavoured to avoid this by alledging that it was only signed conditionally. Lord Pitmedden affirmed, that such donations to wives ought not to be encouraged, for that exposed old men, deficient in due benevolence, to be their wives' prey; and Lauderdale was loth to be reproached that his family had been extinguished and killed by the hand of a woman. The lords gave a decision against the duchess, but she got a letter from the king to them, declaring his dissatisfaction with their proceedings, and ordering them to stop till he declare his pleasure: Next, Lord Maitland gets a letter from the king, desiring, that for behoof of the family, the affair should be submitted to some of the lords, who may determine to her a reasonable jointure; and if either of the parties will not abide by the decision, the king is resolved not to countenance them. The duchess was enraged at this, but chose her two judges, as Lauderdale did his. However, they could settle nothing, and the duchess insisted on her rights. Lauderdale insists that she should pay her husband's English debts, that being one of the preliminaries when he signed the ratification. She answered, that the promise was not reduced to writing, therefore not binding. Now, she had written a letter to some person, saying that she had undertaken great payments, and Lauderdale would fain have proved that this alluded to the English debt, but she affirmed that she meant the expence of her husband's funeral, which amounted to L. 5000 sterling. Sir George Mackenzie said, to cause Lauderdale ratify, and also to pay the English debt, was to make his ratification the winding-sheet of the earldom; and Sir John Dalrymple added, that it was a ravenous cormorant appetite in her to devour all,—which reflections were ill-resented. Lauderdale wished the duchess to be put to her oath respecting her promise of paying the English debt, and giving the library to the family, but she would not depone on the expressions she used before the bishop of Edinburgh, Niddrie, and Sir William Sharp. He gave in a bill to the lords, craving that she might depone, and that these persons might confer with her in private to refresh her memory, but the

rations are ready to bring forth the bloody unjust warre upon the innocent Netherlands; but our king must first begine, and accordingly a little before the warre broke out, he sent over Sir George

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lords refused this. However, she did take an oath at last, and denied every thing, affirming that her letter alluded to some accounts and the funeral expences, which she knew the Earl would be obliged to repay to her. This contradicted her letter; and the king, on hearing of her oath, declared that she had acknowledged to him her undertaking of the English debt.

" The Dutchess of Lauderdale pursues the earl for an absolvitur from the duke's English debt: He alleadges she wrott letters to Murray of Glendoig, late register, that she should pay the samen; which letters Hugh Ross, Glendoig's servant, took out amongst his papers, and offered them to the earl for 1000 merks, but the dutchess hearing thereof, sent for Ross, (with whom she had formerly casten out) and offered him more; whereupon he gave her up the letters, (which would have clearly proved her perjured), and in place of giving him any money, burnt the letters, and caused him be beat down stairs by her servants. I myself borrowed the money at Sir Robert Mylne's desyre, which Ross should have gotten from Lauderdale, and brought the same to the earl; but they had let Ross go away before I came with the money, albeit I stayed not three quarters of ane hour; and it was thought Sir John Dalrymple had treacherously past down to the dutchess, and caused her send for Ross; and Ross was imprisoned for his trincating and falsehood to both. 18*th November*, 1687.

" There being a comprising on the estate of Lauderdale, which, at the time the earl signed the ratification, he knew not of; by this act he left nothing to himself as heir. The duchess attempted to prove the comprising a forgery; and on the 23d and 24th of November, 1687, she herself came to the Parliament-house, and on her petition was admitted to sit between the barrs, though there be an act of sederunt against all but princes of the blood; and the Marchioness of Montrose, some time afterwards, was not allowed the same access. The duchess sued Lauderdale for the English debt, (March 6, 1688, she pursues Sir James Dick of Priestfield, for forcibly taking back three swans out of five, which she had removed from the loch of Duddingston), and he was decerned to discharge that. She then must have two mortgages upon the land of Ham, which amounted to L. 7000 sterling, paid off,—then the moveables must be freed from the funeral charges. Lord Lauderdale's advocates urged that the duke by those mortgages bought Duddingston, which the duchess now possessed by an exorbitant donation; that it is usual for funeral expences to be discharged from the moveables; and that she, having got the moveables,

Downing, that notable turncoat, (he hade been chaplane to Sir Arthure Haslerigge, spye and scout to Cromwell), to corresponde with the state-generall for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, according to the triple league. And when he returned, upon the pretence he hade not carried civily enough toward the states, the king casts him in prison in the Tower. This was all to lull them asleep, and make them beleive he was their faithfull friend; but it did not so blind them, but John de Witt (at that time their leader) advysed the States to take heed to their Smyrna fleet, which was at sea, for they hade the King of England alwayes under suspicion, notwithstanding all the fair weather he made. And even so it came to pass; for the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and Spanish fleet, which joyned them in their return, were, by Sir Robert Holmes, in a great fleet of warre, attackt upon the west of England. He hoped weell to have made prize of them all, but the weak convoy they hade made such

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ought to defray that charge, else she'd resemble the Egyptians, who tyrannically exacted brick, though they did not furnish straw; and she having got the straw, ought to make her brick therewith," &c. So far Fountainhall. Her grace, by this litigation, reduced her husband's family almost to beggary. It was believed, that after the duke's death she intended to marry Lord Strathallan.

> " You name Strathallan; it is said below,
> That they are married, and they further show
> That she hath hyr'd some cusing wond'rous kind
> To kill the heir, although the boy be blind."

Epithalamium for the Duke of Lauderdale and the Viscount of Strathallan, by way of dialogue between the Duke and Sir Lional Talmach, first husband to the Duchess of Lauderdale.—MS. She died June, 1696, and was buried at Petersham. Her son, Lioncl, Lord Dysart, was as covetous as his mother, if we can rely upon the authority of Mrs. Manley, who styles him " an old curmudgeon," and says he kept a house like the Temple of Famine; well nigh starving his son, Lord Huntingtower, who married, contrary to his inclination, a natural daughter of the Duke of Devonshire.

gallant resistance, that all the merchants got home except four or five, which were not very considerable. The Dutch were so secure, that they brought alongst with them several Scottish merchants from Spain, to whom they were so kind as to tow some of them with them, because they could not bear up with them in sailing, which made the poor Scots men weep when they saw the English fall so foul upon them. This happened in March 14, 1672; and this was the first action of this lamentable warre. But this bussiness behooved to be a secret in our king's breast, and so it was, (for the first declaration of warre was the report of the great guns) because the king designed the advantage of a perfect surpriseall, and indeed he hoped to have catcht the whole Smyrna fleet, but he mist it. This way of dealling made the Hollander both call him thief and robber; who, in the very time when he was disputing with the State whether he or they observed the triple league against France most religiously, should fall so foull upon their innocent merchants, without either premonition or provocation. Now the next thing to be done is to publish his declaration, for the warre he hade already begun: The reasons he gave were, first injuries done to the English in the Indies, which the States denyed to be true in fact. Next, some Hollander hade drawn in a picture our king receiving vast sumes of money into his open hat, and the money dripping through his hat in his misses lap, which he said was much to his dishonour. The States answered, first with a prayer that Christendome might be delivered from a king that would make a bloody warre for ane idle picture; also, that if this was a personal injury, their State was innocent, and that there was no complaint upon it; and, lastly, that when it was known, the States supprest it. The last reason of the warre was, that the States fleet hade refused the honour of the flagge to a small English yacht of 30 tuns, the Fairfane. They excused this from the ignorance of their admiral, who did not believe their State fleet should vail to ane English pink;

also they offered all satisfaction for the future that would be required in honor. But when the king was engadged to make warre, causes must either be found or sought, so the warre advanced.

The story of the Dutch warre I shall not undertake, there are so many have done it already, nor is it much to my purpose. Only it was observed in generall, that tho' both the English fleet under the Duke of York, and the French under the Duke of Beaufort, were unite against them, yet in all the engadgements they hade the Dutch hade the advantage. Next it was observed, that tho' the French pretended to assist the English in all the sea fights, they carried themselves rather as spectators than actors, and very indifferent they seemed to be whether the Dutch or English lost most; yet, notwithstanding of all this, the States were so opprest with the French warre by land, they were content to buy the King of England's peace with 300,000 pittacoons after two years warre; and then indeed the King of England was forced to give it over, partly because his people and parliament clamoured so against him for assisting the French to destroy the Netherlands, (alas! they were ignorant of the Dover league) and partly because money fail'd; and France was not so ready to pay as to engadge by false promises. So the peace betwixt England and the United Provinces was concluded in February 1674, leaving the King of France alone to prosecute his warre for destroying the hereticks in the Low Countries; and such was the end of our king's Dutch warre. As for the bloody warre the French king made upon the United Provinces, as was conceived by the Dover league, because it is not proper to me, I purpose not to meddle with it; only this one word I have to say upon it, it was ane affaire attended with a wonderfull sort of miracles of Providence; for, first, he begune it in a wonderfull haughty manner by a peremptory denunciation in a write of fewer lines than I believe he would use to summond a peasant before a baylie, but

would not trouble himself with a declaration to satisfy the world by justifying his undertaking from reason and justice, as just princes use to doe. He boasted when he put on his armour. Next, for his progresse in this warre, he invaded a people secure and unprovided. The two De Witts who governed these countries at that time hade neglected to provide their towns with officers and garrisons, being more carefull to employ some ignorant burgo-master's son, who would be a sure Lowbestecier to oppose the Prince of Orange, rather than ane expert officer to resist the French. These poor countries were also diverted from making head against the French by the formidable warre the English king made upon them at sea, threatning them also with a land army, under the command of Shomberg, a forreigner, and Hotlegyrald, a papist. They were likewayes horribly divided, when the French invaded, betwixt the Prince of Orange and the Lowbestan faction, who loved him little better than the French. From this division sprung frequent tumults, in one of which they tore the two De Witts in pieces in a most barbarous manner. In another they proclaimed the Prince of Orange Stadholder, tho' their state hade sworn the contrary. These alterations seemed to threaten ruine to their countrey. On the other side, the French king invaded their countrey with a mighty army of 100,000 men, commanded by the best of officers in the world; Turein, Conde, and Chamilly. The king himself was there to further the work. He took (they say) as many walled towns as he stayed dayes in the countrey; and when at the same time the Bishop of Munster hade mastered almost all Freizland and Groning, the King of France like a torrent overrune and conquered the countrey of Cleve, Gilderland, Overissels, the Bishoprick of Utrecht, (where the king kept his court for a while, with Lockhart the English ambassador in his company,) and a part of Holland itself, none of all the seven provinces being free, except only the Isles

of Zealand. In a word, the French king in a moment, of seven parts of the countrey conquered five. This made the poor Hollanders so desperate, many of them forsook their countrey; many sold their interests at a low rate. In end they were constrained to bury their countrey under the water to defend it from the French invasion. The city of Amsterdam were so discouraged, the question was once stated in their town councill, whether they should send their city keyes to the King of France, being at that time at Utrecht, in hopes that by their humility they might better their conditions with their new master, or whether they should stay till the French army came in sight, and then render their keyes and their city? No man was so bold as to give his vote they should hold out their strong city, that might muster ane army twice so strong as the French: none at all. Only a doctor of medicine, who was a counsellor, was so hardy as to give his opinion that they should not send their keyes to Utrecht, but stay till the French came in sight to fetch them; and withall told them, if they resolved to send away their keyes, he would goe to the street and raise the people of the city against them. This made them take the courage to hold out till the French came in sight, which they never did till this day; but it was a near misse. Yet, notwithstanding of all this, these poor countreys were preserved and delivered out of the paw of the roaring lyon; and the way was this: When the States-General first apprehended their danger from a French invasion, in the beginning of this year they constitute the Prince of Orange, at that time a youth of 22 years, Generalissimo of all their forces by sea and land. Then, when the French hade actually invaded their countrey and carried all before them, he mustured ane army of 30,000 men, and them he posted at Bedegrave, a strong pass betwixt Utrecht and Rotterdam, and there he entrenched himself to defend that pass, which covers all the rich towns in Holland. When

the French successe became a burdine to their king, so that he knew not how to manadge it, he calls a councill of warre, wherein were two several opinions; one was Turrein's, who advised the king to keep his army unite till he hade entirely subdued the whole countrey, and then to choice in what places he pleased to appoint his garrisons. The other opinion was Lonvoy's, (he was the king's great minister and thesaurer,) and that was quite contrare: that the king should garrison every town he took, and so make all sure behind him. This opinion, being the worst of the two, the French king followed; and so it came to passe, by leaving a garrison in every new conquer'd town, he diminisht his army so, that when they came to Bedegrave there were but 7000 in the French camp, and they durst not attack the Prince with his 30,000; and here the proud billows of the French conquest was stopt, and commanded to come no further. Yet he continued a declining warre for six years, and forsook his towns in the Low Countries as unaccountably as he hade taken them, till in end he made peace with the States at the treaty of Nunegen. And after he hade left some hundereds of thousands of French carcases behind him, he retired to his own countrey without purchaseing one foot of ground from the States, tho' he hade in his imagination, and the league at Dover, both conquered and divided their whole countrey; and so ended the French warre. But tho' our king was constrained by his people and necessities to break off from the French king as to publick assistance in armes, the secret friendship and designe and principle continued even till death.

These commotions abroad occasioned great alterations in the churches of Brittain; for, first, as soon as ever the warre with Holland broke out, the king publisht his declaration of toleration for dissenters in England. This he did that he might have quietness at home when he hade warre abroad, and he did it by the sole au-

thority of his royal prerogative, without calling the parliament to counsell, thereby taking upon himself the power to dispense with the laws of England, which much dissatisfied the people, and was the reason it continued so short a while. Indeed, in it the king was more favourable to his beloved papists than to the protestant dissenters; for whereas he permitted protestant dissenters to build meeting-houses and keep their meetings, it was alwayes with this provision, that before they begun they should give up the minister's name and have ane expresse license for him, which some ministers refused to doe. There was no such thing required of papists, so both their strength and number was concealed, which was not granted to dissenters. However, it was good cheer to the dissenters of England, where the tyranny of the bishops and toleration among dissenters divide the whole nation; but in Scotland they took another course, and wrought at leisure.

Duke Lauderdale came down to Scotland in Aprile, 1672, and conveened his session of parliament upon the day of , wherein he first procured money for the king's warrs; then made several acts against the presbyterians, such as ane act against their ordinations, ane act against private baptizmes and conventicles, declareing it alwayes ane unlawfull conventicle if more than four persons beside the family were present; then he adjourned his next session of parliament till day of June next, and so concluded. But tho' he hade ane indulgence in his pocket, yet his behaviour shewed no favour either to the interest or party; for, first, when several gentlemen were brought before him to pay their exorbitant fynes for their accession to conventicles, his answer was, "Now, gentlemen, ye know the price of a conventicle, and shame fall them that tyres first." The Laird of Boussie, a rich gentleman, was brought before him for hearing a presbyterian minister whom he entertained as his chaplane, and was fyned in 27,000 merks; and this was given to

the Earle of Athol to clear Lauderdale's quarters, who at this time made a stately visit to the earle, with his lady and family, where indeed there was no complaint of want while they were there. Also several ministers were cited before the councill for conventicles, and because they appeared not were denunced rebells; among these were Masters Gilbert Hall and George Johnstoun, and several others. Yet at length, after many discourses and private promises, the fatal day came; it was Sept. 3d, 1672. Being the Sabbath-day, the better day the better deed. On it the councill, conveened at Halyroodhouse, contrived their second indulgence in three several acts; and this they did of purpose that our ministers might think they might comply with one act without regarding another. In their first act they confyne about 80 ministers to some paroches in the west countrey where conventicles were most frequent, and then permit them to exerce their ministry by paires in a church, (only one man gets a church alone,) and sometimes they allow four for a church, allowing them such a proportion of the stipend as belonged to the division; declareing also, for the encouragement of legal and regular incumbents, there shall never be any more presbyterian ministers indulged. In their second act of that date, they prescribe six several rules to be observed by all the indulged ministers; as first, that they baptize no child except of their own paroch, or that bring a testimonial from their respective ministers; next, that all the indulged ministers in one diocy shall celebrate the communion upon one day, and that they receive no person to the communion without a testimonial from their respective minister; thirdly, that they preach only in their churches, and not in the church-yards, or any place else, under the penalty of a conventicle; next, that they never depart out of the bounds of their own paroch without a licence from their bishop only (they would fain have made acquaintance betwixt the two); then, that all cases referable to presbytries

in the exercise of discipline, by the rules of presbyterian government, be still referred to the curats' mock presbytries; lastly, that moneys payable to presbytries bursars, and presbytries and synods clerks, shall be payed by the indulged ministers. The third Act of Indulgence discharges strictly all the presbyterian ministers to preach or exercise any part of their ministry, except the indulged ministers, or those who may live in their paroches; requireing also inferior magistrates to call before them any presbyterian minister, and to require of them their declaration and engadgement to hear and communicate in the paroch where they dwell, under the pain of imprisonment. And so they believed they hade couched and conjured all the presbyterian ministers in Scotland; for this was the justice of our governours, to believe if they satisfied a few paroches in the west, all the rest should contentedly rest upon the curats, as if the presbyterians' consciences had been in common among them; and that he who lived in Sutherland hearing the curat, should be content that the presbyterians in Carrick heard ministers of their own perswasion.

Now what did the presbyterians upon these acts? Truely because the truth is very much wronged in report, and because my information is as full and exact as any man's in Scotland can be, I think my self the more oblidged to be particular. Pity it is, that he who writes man's actions faithfully, should make so many complaints; but necessary it is, foreasmuch as there are so many of man's actions sinfull, and so few praise worthy. However, at that time there was a considerable number of presbyterian ministers who hade their constant residence in Edinburgh. Many also at that time resorted thither in expectation of a sort of liberation; so upon Aug. 8, 20 ministers mett together in Mr Thomas Hog his chamber, near Magdalene chappell, and upon the flagrant discourse of ane

approaching indulgence, resolved to write a friendly letter to my Lord Stair,* their great confident in the councill, desireing any in-

* King Charles the Second observed, that there never was a rebellion in Scotland without a Campbell or a Dalrymple at the bottom of it—

> "To Stair allow, as he deserves, much space,
> And round about him the Dalrymple race;
> Describe how they their sovereign did betray,
> And sell their nation's liberty away."
>
> ROBERTSON *of Struan's Advice to a Painter.*

The first Lord Stair, so created by King William, was always the great patron of the whigs, though he continued to enjoy partial glimpses of court favour in this and the succeeding reign. Descended from Lollards and favourite disciples of Knox, he himself fostered Peden and other vagrant preachers in his house, where they pronounced sermons, and baptized children.—WODROW, *vol. 2. p. 587.* His son, whose shining abilities were acknowledged by both parties, is described by Lockhart, in his Memoirs, as a monster, devoid of all sense of honour, and every feeling of humanity. His protection afforded to the whigs, and a quarrel with Grahame of Claverhouse, afterwards Lord Dundee, rendered him, in the year 1683, obnoxious to government, by whose order he was confined in the castle of Edinburgh; but he subsequently contrived to act the loyalist so artfully, that King James, in the year 1686, made him Lord Advocate in the place of Sir George Mackenzie, who opposed the repeal of the penal laws against popery. In this station he forwarded all the measures of the court, and afterwards as heartily sided with the promoters of the Revolution, bragging that he had contributed what in him lay to ruin his master. His activity and thirst of blood in a scene which constitutes one of our greatest national reproaches, is but too clearly proved. Every North Briton must wish the details of that massacre buried in oblivion, and the darkness of eternal night. He escaped punishment, like the other murderers; but Fletcher of Salton, at the Union, told him in the face of parliament, that had there formerly been an act against ministers of state for giving bad advice to the king, and doing things contrary to law, "his lordship had long ere now been hanged for the advices he gave King James, the murder of Glenco, and his conduct since the Revolution." Lord Stair died of an apoplexy some days before the union

dulgence to be granted might be free of poysonous ingredients or conditions which might scruple any conscientious presbyterian to embrace it. They answered also some queries, who might accept, who not; but all was upon guesse, for none of them at that time knew what the terms of our indulgence would be. There was a dangerous humor frequently to be found in their meetings, and that was, some called constantly for a testimony against the sinfull government of the state; so some of them urged some expressions might be placed in the letter, which made it treason against the Scottish law of the highest degree. Then there was a very ignoble disposition among some of them, those who hade been most urgent to inflame the paper with dangerous expressions, should be sure to be out of town to-morrow morning early, some dozen of myles, and leave their brethren in the town to be their proxies for martyrdom, and present the papers at their personal hazard; yet would they talk gloriously among their companions in the countrey, how they hade moulded a testimony at Edinburgh, but hade no mind their interest in the danger should be as deep as they were bold in contryving. Alwayes this letter grew so hot, no man was found to present it, and they who durst not themselves were ashamed to urge others, so it was laid wholly aside; but this uncertain motion

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was completed.—"As he was the bane of Scotland in general, so he and his family were the great opposers of all the particular persons that did not depend upon him, and go along with his designs; and that so openly and barefacedly, that a cavalier or anti-courtier was not to expect common justice in the session, where his brother was president; whereby he and his family were, at the same time, the most dreaded and detested of any in the kingdom, ruling over whom, and in what manner they pleased. This family had rose but lately from nothing; and it was so much the stranger, that they pretended, and others suffered them to usurp such a dominion as extended not over the cavaliers alone, but even such of the revolution party as were of any other interest beside theirs, felt the heavy effects of it."—LOCKHART'S *Memoirs*, *p.* 96.

among them was misrepresented in the west countrey, as if the ministers in Edinburgh hade all been for accepting the indulgence if a letter were write with it; but the truth is, at this time none knew what the nature of the indulgence would be.

So the next expedient they choice was to send two brethren to my Lord Stair, to desire he would keep the indulgence free of dangerous ingredients, and the two they sent were Messrs Gabriel Cunninghame and James Kirkton. Accordingly, upon Aug. 20, the two brethren went, and spoke the Lord Stair: He promised all should be safe and fair, which they reported to their brethren; but still the fear among them increased, and after September 3d, when they saw their indulgence, there was hardly a man to be found in Edinburgh but he spoke of it with indignation. Immediately after the acts came abroad, there was a meeting of some dozen of ministers in Mr David Hoome's chamber, where some prest earnestly the brethren present might give their judgements against it, declareing absolutely it was sinfull for any man to enter to a church by these acts. But one answered, in regarde the case concerned the whole body, and that that meeting so small could have no considerable authority; therefore he desired a generall meeting of the brethren might be called at a convenient day, betwixt and which all the party should commune and resolve among themselves, what their duty might be in such a juncture of time. This overture was embraced, and the 24 day of September was appointed for all the commissioners to meet, well instructed by their brethren what joynt course should be taken. Upon that day 32 ministers mett in Mr Thomas Hog his chamber: They came indeed from all the corners of the countrey in very friendly manner, and for the first day did no more but only resolved how to give their judgement upon the question at their next meeting in that place; and the way they took was, to abstain from endless disputes, and every man to give

his opinion with his reason. Next meeting Mr John Inglis is chosen Moderator. He propounded the question, What was the present duty of the ministers named in the indulgence, and whether they should goe to the churches named to them or not? Of all the 32 brethren, only 4 men were of opinion that with a testimony to the state the ministers might take their churches, and 2 brethren were unclear. All the rest spake peremptorlie for the negative; and the first man that spoke was Mr Thomas Wyllie, who, after he hade given his opinion and the reason for the negative, added Mr Robert Dowglass his testimony, who hade said to him, that if the ministers named in the indulgence would forbear their churches, he should leave his church at Pencatland, and stand ane outted minister among them: So that night the indulgence was almost unanimously refused, and so it continued for near a moneth, till Mr Gab: Cunninghame came to town. He was indeed a godly grave man, but was the great cause that this indulgence was embraced. He brought with him a number of papers written against the Acts of Indulgence; and people, when they heard him speak, believed he hade been as averse as any man, but afterwards the contrare was seen. The first meeting he desired was at Mr James Kirkton his chamber, the end of October: There, because diverse brethren hade not given judgement before were present, the question was askt over again, and there some who hade peremptorily refused the indulgence before at Mr Hog's, changed their opinion and declared for the affirmative; and their scandal was, that their names not being in the list of the indulged ministers, some of our states men hade promised them churches if they would comply. However, after they hade all given their judgements (almost all for the negative), Mr Cunninghame pull'd a paper out of his pocket, written by Mr Thomas Wyllie (who hade also changed his opinion), against the indulgence, containing a number of complaints against these

acts, as inconsistent with a presbyterian's principles and the scriptures. The title (which was not write) was, Certain of the many Grievances in the Indulgence, straitning the Presbyterian Ministers named therein, that they cannot accept, (these were his words). This paper the meeting passed, supposing it to be designed for ane excuse wherefore they should not accept the indulgence, and a confirmation of the negative opinion; but they resolved to alter and perfyte it before they would present it. So it was committed. Within the space of two or three meeting days, Mr Cunninghame altered the title of his paper, and made it to be only, The Complaint of the Ministers who were to take the Indulgence upon some Grievances in the Councill's Acts. Then it was perceived the designe of the paper was only to be ane excuse to the councill and the world for the disputed practise of these ministers who were to comply; and here the brethren divided in great discontent; the brethren who were for the negative complaining bitterly they hade been abused with papers write seemingly against the taking of the indulgence, according to their title and matter, but really to further ministers to their churches in a way which they believed was sinfull. These who were for the affirmative cried out, Would not their brethren concurre in a testimony for the truth? These who were for the negative answered, It was not a testimony but a church that was designed, and that if they would forbear their churches, they would concurre in any honest testimony, but would doe nothing to further any man to a church in such a manner. And, indeed, there was no little heat among them; but some calling for a testimony, others for honesty and constancy, professing alwayes that they should be well content these who would goe to churches should testifie as they might best; but they would never excuse a practise they judged sinfull. Alwayes Mr Cunninghame held bussie calling for meetings, pressing a joynt paper to be presented to the state, upon which he thought ministers

might enter to their churches; the others offering to testifie if they would keep together and stand their ground, but refuseing to justifie what they judged sinfull. The last meeting they hade was on Dec. 23, where the plurality of the meeting declared they would doe nothing might excuse the taking of the indulgence, and so the designed excuse was laid aside in the great meeting at Edinburgh. Yet notwithstanding of all this, these who purposed for their churches transmitted the paper to the west countrey, where the brethren indulged by the first indulgence were indeed the great patrons of the 2d indulgence; and when the paper came to the countrey it was canvassed from hand to hand, and meeting to meeting, till it evanisht. But what was this paper the indulged brethren called their testimony? Hade it been a declaration that forasmuch as they judged these acts of the councill sinfull, they could not homologat them by accepting them; had it been this, these who rejected the indulgence would have concurred. Or was it this? That forasmuch as there were churches offered to them under conditions required, they declared they would goe to their churches, but could not own their conditions. This hade been a proper excuse for those who entered to churches; but it was nothing like these, it was only a nibbling at some of their acts; but some said more, some said lesse, but nothing at all to the councill, with whom they hade most adoe. Meantime the brethren crept into the churches, so that never a church wanted a minister within a little time; and when it was told them they hade broke their own law, which was that the indulgence might not be taken without a testimony, they answered, they were willing to have testified, if their brethren who refused the indulgence would have concurred with them, and so excused themselves. The brethren who refused answered, it was a most unreasonable thing to desire of them ane act that should excuse the taking of the indulgence, a practise wholly against their conscience; so they

might well enough have presented their testimony without their concourse, as they hade gone to their churches without their consent, but they hade a greater mind for the church than for the testimony.

Here the presbyterians, who hade been unite till now, divided: nor is the wound so cured this day but the scarre is to be seen; most of the gentry in the west were for the indulgence, desyring much to hear a presbyterian rather than a curat; many of the commons were against it, and learned to improve that dangerous principle which hade been so much inculcate in their ear, that it was unlawfull to hear a minister who was guilty of any publict error or scandal in his ministry, so as totally to reject their ministry, and to refuse both their doctrine and their sacraments. It came to publict dispute, and the great plea of the indulged men was, that it was most lawfull for a man to enter to his office from which he hade been most unjustly restrained, if the restraint were removed, as it was in the indulgence. They who were against the indulgence answered, Hade there been no more in the indulgence but a simple removeal of the restraint upon their ministry, they should never have questioned the lawfullness of their practise; but there was much more in the indulgence. First, the Acts of the Indulgence were framed by the king and his councill in the height of his erastian supremacy, (as most of the indulged men confest,) and that to take benefit by these acts, and urge others to the obedience of these acts, (as all the indulged men did in exacting their stipends,) was to homologate the authority of these acts, and this was much against a presbyterian's principles. Next, the indulgence was not a simple grant of a benefite, but a conditional bargain; the ministers should indeed have leave to return to their ministry, but upon condition they observed the states canons, wherein there was something erastian and something episcopal; and as for the common speech among the indulged

men, that they would take the good of the acts (that is the church,) and refuse the evil, (that is the canons,) the refusers thought that as good sense as to say, the fish shall swallow the bait, but not the hook. If a superior grant a barronie of land to a vassal, upon condition he pay such a yearly duty, truely if the vassal take seasing and possession, the world will hold him engadged for the duty. Lastly, to lay aside abstract arguments, (said they,) this will divide our party, for many disclaimed against it before ever any minister enter'd, and this would be more to their hurt then their publict exercise of their ministry would compense. To this the indulged men answered, there should have been no division at all, if all would acquiesce in their practise. And these who refused replyed, this was Bishop Sharp's answer when it was told him bishops would divide Scotland, that all should acquiesce, and so there should be peace. But it is far more easie to forbear a practise, tho' lawfull in itself, than for a tender Christian to swallow a positive scruple. The ministers in Holland wrote a book against the indulgence, and Mr Vilant made ane answer to it. However, certain it is that they who entered hade a very uncomfortable ministry in many places; some hade no peace, some scattered the flock, and in some places none at all came, at lest for a time, so that the minister was forced to lock his church doors, as particularly Mr James Curry did at his church of Shotts. Sad were the disorders occasioned by this indulgence; the ministers of Holland treated the indulged brethren almost as severely as the curats. Many of the common people followed this way. The ministers in Scotland who opposed the indulgence, did indeed contend with their brethren to diswade them from their churches, but still heard them preach, and wisht earnestly for more successe of their ministry than they could find; but because they would never meddle with the indulgence in their doctrine, were much censured by many common people, who said they were not faithful to

their light. The ministers answered, every point of truth is not for the pulpit at all times, but this did not satisfy the people on horseback; and indeed this modesty of theirs made the indulged men acclaim it as their privilege, that no man might speak against them, tho' these for the negative told them, they might as well preach against the indulgence, as they preached by virtue of it. And truely the enterance of some of the indulged brethren made some wonder; for some when they entered would not have the bell rung to be a testimony against the evils in the indulgence; and some when they hade preached a year, and received the stipend, deneyed they hade taken the indulgence, affirming they hade only intruded into the church, and the contentions of brethren were like the barrs of a castle. But this is the true story of the second indulgence.

In the winter following came Duke Hamilton to town, and took his place at the councill table; there the rest of the lords were very curious to learn from him, because he came from the west countrey, what successe their policy in the indulgence hade, in bringing the presbyterians under their command, and in quieting the countrey? He answered, he believed the indulgence might have done their business among the presbyterians, and settled the countrey, hade it been received by the whole body of the presbyterians; but, because there was still a considerable party that refused altogether to own their indulgence, and disswaded their brethren from meddling with it; therefore he believed the schism (as he called it) would still continue in the church. He complained chiefly upon 5 ministers, as being the greatest opposites to the indulgence in all their meetings; and these were Messrs Alexander Moncrief, Robert Lockhart, George Campbell, Robert Fleeming, and James Kirkton, but reflected upon the last with greatest vehemency, as upon the man who hade used greatest freedom in disswading

his brethren from complying with the state's design. Upon this the councill resolved to rid themselves of these presbyterians one way or other, and if they would not accept of their indulged ministry, they resolved at least to compell them to enter into their confynement; and so our goodly indulgence turned persecution, our courtesy turn'd importunity. So the first thing they did in the beginning of the next parliament, 1673, was to summond before them the indulged ministers, and to command them to their respective confynements, which should have been their paroches; and accordingly, in the beginning of February, they called several before them, as Mr George Waugh, who was to goe for Ireland, and easily satisfied them. Then they called for Mr James Kirkton, and him they commanded to repair to the paroch of Carstairs, (whither they hade sent him by the indulgence,) betwixt and the first of June, and there to exerce the ministry; and if he would not exerce his ministry there, then to remain confyned there perpetually; or if he should break his confynement, they told he was to be seized by his majesties officers wherever he was found. His answer was, he thanked them for the favour they showed in granting him so much time to advyse, and that he should desire to advyse with the Lord and his conscience, and so he was dismist. The same sentence they gave to Mr Robert Lockhart, Mr James Donaldson, Mr Matthew M'Kaill, Mr Patrick Anderson, and I believe diverse more, who gave all the same return for answer. So indeed the councill wearied to goe through with them all, so the time drove over till the anniversary holy-day, May 29, came, and upon that our councill took occasion to try our indulged ministers and their behaviour. In the beginning of June, the councill calls for a great number of them to answer upon their obedience to the act of parliament, made for the observation of that day. Some gave one excuse, some another, why they hade not kept it as the councill desired. Then the

chancellor asked, what they would doe for the time comeing? To this most present answered, they could not keep any holy day but the Sabbath; and that tho' a new act of parliament hade some way softned the first act made about that day, yet the matter of the performance was still exacted; so that the day which hade been holly was still to be observed, and this they could not doe. But unhappily some made their excuse that they hade not seen the canons laid upon the indulged men; and upon this the councill first fyned them in half a year's stipend, (which yet they afterwards obtain'd,) and thereafter delivered every man a copy of the canons, to be thereafter observed. The ministers knew the canons would be obtruded upon them, and mett together amongst themselves for advyse, and there they drew a paper upon the matter of the canons, and the magistrates power to prescribe ecclesiastick rules, but could not agree about the use of it. Some were for a paper to be a testimony to vindicate their practise, and these were most for it who were lest in hazard from it. Others were for no paper, so no paper was presented. But the next day they appeared, every man had the canons put in his hand. Mr Alexander Blair, when he received them, told the councill he would receive no instructions from them for regulating their ministry, otherwayes they should be their ambassadors, not Christ's. And for this he was carried to prison, but could never obtain his liberty till death sett him free. When Mr Hutcheson received his paper, he discoursed of the difference betwixt the two governments, and the two sorts of civil power, formal and objective, intrinsick and extrinsick; but his discourse past without censure from the councill. But after this, great was the discontent both of the indulged ministers, and likewayes of the zealous people, reflecting sore upon the ministers' behaviour in that time of their tryal, but they got all home to their churches, except Mr Alexander Blair. Many of them presumed upon their people's affections,

which indeed had formerly been very fervent, but now they found the scene altered, and were to their great grief treated with no lesse reproach than the nickname of Councill Curats.

This summer was reasonable quiet, only the councill went on to couch the ministers in their confynements, if they would not accept the ministry offered to them; and never one (as far as I could hear) went when all was done. But in England things hade another aspect. The Dutch warre was unsuccessfull, a popish interest prevailed. The Duke of York married the Duke of Modena's daughter, highly to the advantage of the papists. Matters were carried at court by 5 lords, the initial letters of whose names made up the mysterious name and thing, the Cabal. These were Clifford, Arlington, Buckinghame, Ashley Couper, and Lauderdale, who, because he was both highest in the king's favour, and a stranger, was therefore highest also in the offence of the people and parliament of England; so when they mett that harvest, they scattered the cabal, and Lauderdale, for his part, to keep himself out of the parliament's way, made ane errand to Scotland, to hold his session of parliament, which accordingly conveened Nov. , 1673. When they were mett, after the king's letter was read, (wherein he thanked them for their zeal against conventicles,) the commissioner pronounced his harangue, desyring, as the custom is, a fresh supply for his majesties necessities. Here he mett with opposition, the first that ever was made to the king's desires after the Restauration. However, Duke Hamilton desired the parliament might first represent to the king the distrest estate of the countrey, before they were burdened with new impositions; and to him adhered the generality of the parliament; so the desyre of the commissioner was refused. Lauderdale was so confident in his speech, as not only to suppose the supply would be granted, but likewayes to goe the length of prescribing a method to the parliament for leavying the supply, and

that was, to referr the business to the lords of the articles. Duke Hamilton opposed not the supply directly, only for the method, he desyred the grievances might be considered before the supply was granted; and to him the body of the parliament adher'd, not only for the substance of his desyre, but in every point. High and hot language was among them, especially Sir Patrick Home of Polwart, at that time commissioner from the Merse, was observed for his bold language; and this was his first digression from the court way.*

* Sir Patrick Home, for his sufferings in the presbyterian cause and his services to the Prince of Orange, was created Earl of Marchmont after the Revolution. Macky says, that he was "always a lover of set long speeches, and could hardly give advice without them; zealous for the presbyterian government in the church and its *Divine Right*, which was the great motive that encouraged him against the crown." This Lord's Memoirs have been written in a very pleasing style by his grand-daughter, Lady Murray, whose own luckless adventures, had she taken the trouble to record them, would have formed an interesting narrative, with much the air of a romance. Boyce addressed a poetical epistle to her, under the name of Serena, in which he alludes to her unfortunate marriage, and her adventure with Arthur Gray, the footman.

"If souls (as eastern sages say) above
Are pair'd in equal bonds of life and love,
Yours in its downward passage chanc'd to stray,
And miss'd its kind associate by the way," &c.

"'Twas night—when mortals to repose incline,
And none but dæmons could intrude on thine;
When wild Desire durst thy soft peace invade,
And stood insulting at thy spotless bed;
Urg'd all that rage or passion could inspire,
Death arm'd the wretch's hand, his heart was fire!
You, more than Roman, saw the dreadful scene," &c.

Vide *Lady Mary W. Montague's Poems*, for an *Epistle from Arthur Gray to his Mistress*.—Her ladyship was also supposed to have written a ballad on the same subject,

Lauderdale was both surprized and amazed at the strange torrent of opposition, but he hade no other defence but only to adjourn the parliament; first, for a few dayes, thereafter for more dayes; and lastly, March 12, 1674, upon which day he adjourned the parliament till October in that same year; but it was by proclamation dissolved upon 19 May, 1674, long before the day of its last adjournment came; and this was the last time ever our mighty duke durst adventure upon a Scottish parliament. This parliament produced no acts, except two or three trifles, concerning salt, tobacco, and brandy, and apparell, and these past by Duke Hamilton's permission. When the division first begune, many and bold were the cabals among Duke Hamilton's friends, and one was found among them (as was said) who offered to dispatch Lauderdale, but Duke Hamilton refused it: who the person was that undertooke so atrocious ane act, I could never learn. But Duke Hamilton's party thought good to send ane agent to court upon the first breach, and the man they employed was the Earle of Dumfries; cavalier good enough, and no fanatick, but he went to court to no other purpose but to be brow-beaten. A little while thereafter Duke Hamilton went to court, and with him some of his party, both noblemen and gentlemen. It seems they were of opinion the king might be satisfied with that refuseal in parliament, but kings use not to be satisfied with excuses in place of obedience. So from that day foreward Duke Hamilton

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of more wit than delicacy, but she denies this in her Letters; it was sung through the streets of London, and printed at the end of Arthur's trial. The concluding stanza runs thus:

"The Lady's fame shall ever last,
And live in British song;
For she was, like Lucretia, chaste,
And eke was much more strong."

was neither favourite nor courtier, but lived and died suspect almost under all the kings; only after the Revolution, King William found it necessar to employ him as his commissioner to severall sessions of parliament. Lauderdale hade a party in the parliament which stuck by him at that time. Among these were Argyle, Kincairn, and Stair, with whose hiefer he plowed most; but wee must not forget the good bishops, who stuck by the commissioner as one man. When the breach opened first, Lauderdale sent up Kincairn post to oppose the adverse party, and he prospered better in his errand than all his adversaries. All the time of this great strife, (tho' some expected it would have been otherwayes,) neither of the sides mentioned the notion of religion, either for distress or danger. All Duke Hamilton's complaints were terminat upon the monopolies of salt, tobacco, and brandy, which hade been put in the hands of Lauderdale and Hatton's friends; somewhat also they spake of the coyn. And this made the lovers of religion to be lesse concerned for either of the dukes, since neither of the two owned the most noble interest, which was in great hazard. Meantime the conventicles increased both in number and frequency, ever since the time of the last indulgence; for, first, the name of favour to presbyterians was some encouragement; next, the forraigne Dutch warre was some restraint upon persecutors; and, lastly, the division betwixt the two dukes emboldened the discontents; and truely the report went that neither of the two grieved much to hear of their grouth, hoping that disorder should be imputed to their adversary, tho' neither of them were friends. However, Lauderdale, before he left Scotland after his unsuccessfull parliament, would needs complement the whiggs with ane Act of Indemnity. So, upon the 4th of March, 1674, by virtue of a letter from his majesty, he past ane Act of Grace, wherein all accession to conventicles preceeding that day was pardoned; and this was proclaimed some dayes thereafter

in great solemnity, all the magistrats being in their robes. But tho' this act was not very full in itself, it hade this effect,—to be lookt at by the common people of Scotland rather as ane encouragement for the time coming, than as a remission for what was past. And from that day foreward, the truth was, Scotland broke loose with conventicles of all sorts, in house, fields, and vacant churches; house conventicles were not noticed, the field conventicles blinded the eyes of our state so much. So in the Merse, Teviotdale, the Borders, Anandale, Nithsdale, Clidsedale, Lothian, Stirlingshyre, Perthshyre, Lennox, Fyfe, they fixed so many posts in the fields, mosses, mures, and mountains, where multitudes gathered almost every Sabbath, alwayes till the time of the defeat at Bothwell Bridge; and indeed at these great meetings many a soul was converted to Jesus Christ, but far more turned from the bishops to profess themselves presbyterians. The paroch churches of the curats in the mean time came to be like pest houses; few went to any of them, and none to some, so the doores were kept lockt. In the west there were not many in regard of the indulged ministers, nor in the north in regard of the disposition of the people, who were never zealous for a good cause. After this indemnity the Commissioner Lauderdale got home to court, there to make his representations and complaints, which he did to good purpose, that within two moneths there was a new secret councill named, and in that list almost all Duke Hamilton's adherents were omitted; he was continued himself, but came little to councill for a long time, so the councill was made up of Lauderdale's men.

But this spring begune the presbyterians, both ministers and people, to act very high; almost all of them preached, not only in houses, but went to the fields or vacant churches. They who were young and healthfull were most bussie. Then the discourse up and down Scotland was the quality and successe of the last Sabbath's

conventicle, who the preachers were, what the number of the people was, what the affectiones of the people were, what doctrine the minister preached, what change was among the people, how sometimes the souldiers assaulted them, and sometimes killed some of them; sometimes the souldiers were beaten, and some of them killed. And this was the exercise of the people of Scotland for six years time. None was so bussie as Mr John Welsh, who this spring made a perambulation over Fyfe, and there in vacant churches, and sometimes in the fields at Glenveale, at Dury Qyre, and other places, gathered sometimes armies together, for which the gentry and people both smarted very sore. Within a short time, one poor gentleman payed 2000 merks because he got a night's lodging in his house, tho' he himself knew nothing of it, being absent about his bussiness. About some dozen of the gentlemen of the shyre were brought before the councill, and imprisoned and fyned for hearing him preach at his meetings. This spring the presbyterians took possession of Cramond church, and diverse other churches near Edinburgh. At Wolmet chappel sometimes there mett thousands, to which the primate of St Andrews was one day eye-witness. Upon a Sabbath they possessed themselves of Magdalene chappel in Edinburgh, where Mr William Weir preached to a full auditory, and it mist but little that they went not to the Lady Yester's church.

Also this summer, because men durst not, the women of Edinburgh would needs appear in a petition to the councill, wherein they desired a gospell ministry might be provided for the starving congregations of Scotland. Fifteen of them, most part minister's widows, engadged to present so many copies to the principal lords of councill, and upon the 4th of June filled the whole Parliament Closse. When the chancellor came up, Sharp came up with him, and as the chancellor left his coach, Sharp clapt closse to his back,

fearing, it may be, bodily harm, which he then escapt; only some of them reproached him, calling him Judas and traitor, and one of them laid her hand upon his neck, and told him that neck must pay for it ere all was done, and in that guessed right; but this was all he suffered at that time. Mr John Livingston's widow undertook to present her copie to the chancellor, which she did. He received it, and civilly pul't off his hat. Then she begane to speak, and took hold of his sleeve. He bowed down his head and listened to her (because she spake well,) even till he came to the councill chamber door.* She who presented her copy to Stair found no such kind reception, for he threw it upon the ground, which made one tell him he did not so with the remonstrance against the king, which he helped to pen. But when the councill conveened, the petition was turned into a seditious lybell in the vote of the court. The provest and guard were sent for, but none of these were very cruell; only they threatned, and the women dissolved. Thereafter

* Livingstone, in the "Historical Relation of his Life," mentions a very remarkable accident which befel this woman while he was with the king in Holland. "My wife, riding by the miln at Nether Ancrum, through the unskilfulness of the servant that rode before her, fell in the miln-dam, and was carried down the troughs, till with her body she stopped the outer wheel, then fast going. Providence so ordered, that the wheel wanting one of the awes, and just over against that part of the wheel which wanted that piece of timber, her body was drawn down, and so stopped the going of the miln, and continued in that case, the water still falling about her, till a gentleman who saw her, and was about half a quarter of a mile distant, came running, and caused the people to go within the miln and turn the outer wheel back, and so got her out, and carried her home. She was all bruised, and on the third day a sore fever seized her; yet it pleased the Lord that she recovered, and wrote to me in Holland, that she thought she was therein an emblem of what our treaty was like to bring on the church and land."—There is a portrait of Mrs Livingstone at Gossford House, belonging to the Earl of Wemyss, a sour puckered-up face, peering frightfully out of an immense black hood and forehead cloth.

for ane example some of them were cited, and some denunced rebels. Three women they incarcerate also for a time: James Clelland's wife, Lilias Campbell, and Margaret Johnston, a daughter of Wariston's; and this was the end of that brush.*

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* The petition of these women is to be found in Wodrow. During the furies of the Covenant, riotous assemblages of the female sex were very frequent in Edinburgh. One Mistress Kelty, at the head of a regiment of pious sisters, threw a stone at the Duke of Hamilton in the year 1648, for which her hand was ordered to be cut off; "but he procured her pardon, and said, the stone had missed him, therefore he was to take care that their sentence might miss her." BURNET'S *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.*—On the day of James Mitchell's execution, the zealous women of Edinburgh assembled in order to rescue that odious assassin, but he was too powerfully guarded to be benefitted by their kind intentions. In a collection of MS. Lampoons regarding Scotland, in the editor's possession, is the following curious list, written after the Revolution by some ungodly jester of the jacobite faction:

"*The new-modelled Fanaticall Female Regiment, composed of Presbyterian Ministers' Daughters, whether Maids, Wives, or Widdows, and of the Waiting-Women and Chamber-Maids of Fanaticall Ladies; but the Officers for the most part are the following Male Heroes, viz.*

COLL: EARL CRAWFORD.
LIEUT.-COLL: VISCOUNT OF STAIRS.
MAJOR: LORD CARDROSS.

CAPTAINS.

EARL OF ARGYLE.
EARL OF ANNANDALE.
EARL OF LOUTHIANE.
EARL OF LIVINE.
LORD RAITH.
LORD FORRESTER.
THE MASTER OF STAIRS.

About this time a question arose betwixt the lords of session and some of our advocates. *The question was, Whether a party aggrieved by a sentence of the lords of session, might lawfully appeal from them to the parliament of Scotland, yea or not? Many of the advocates maintain'd the affirmative for a time. This highly offended the lords, upon which these scrupulous advocates were put from their places, and forbide to reside at Edinburgh; whereupon one tribe of them went to live in Haddington, with their captain, Sir George Lockhart; another tribe went to Lithgow, with Sir John Cunninghame, and distinguished their body into conformity, who joyn-

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Every Captain hath his particular Female and Ensigne, with the speciall Mottos upon their Banners, as follows:

CRAWFORD'S Banner is borne by the DUCHESS of HAMILTON. Motto—Reason and Grace.

STAIRS' Banner by Sir JOHN MAITLAND'S Lady. Motto—Equity and Honesty.

CARDROSS'S Banner is borne by the Lady STAIR. Motto—Resolution and Zeall.

ARGYLE'S Banner is borne by Mistris HALYBURTON, quondam Governess to his Sister. Motto—Loyalty and Chastity.

ANNANDALE'S Banner is borne by the Lady CRAIGHALL. Motto—Fidelity and Policie.

LOUTHIANE'S Banner is borne by the Lady FORRESTER. Motto—A New Light.

LIVINE'S Banner is borne by the Lady MERSINGHAM. Motto—Uniting Grace.

Lord RAITH'S Banner is borne by the MISTRIS of STAIRS. Motto—Pears for Plumbs.

Lord FORRESTER'S Banner is borne by Mistris MATY BIRNEY. Motto—A Great Change.

MASTER of STAIRS' Banner is borne by the Lady RAITH. Motto—Love above Honour and Constience.

The first 13 Files have the Lords of Session for Corporals; there are 4 Hoyboyes, Mr Kirkton, Kennedie, Law, and Wilkie, who are to play at the head of the regiment the tune of 'A broken Covenant and a born-down Gospell;' Mr Erskine is Drum-major, Mr David Williamson and Mr Patrick Reid, conjunct Quarter-Masters. Mr Gilbert Ellot, Armour-bearer to the Coll: and Sir Patrick Nisbet, Ordinance."

ed with the lords; and non-conformists, who resolved to suffer for their tender conscience in defending the truth, tho' in a point of abstract law. But after they hade suffered a while, many of them satisfied the offended lords with acknowledgement of their error, and serious repentance; and all of them, after they hade tasted the bitterness of losse of gain for a session or two, concluded the warre with accommodation and submission. Yea even in the episcopal church there were stirrs and complaints; many of the curats and some of the bishops began to murmure that their church was not governed as a church, but that Bishop Sharp in the council acted as Pope, there being no national representative of their church. Upon which some cried out for a convocation, and two bishops, Lawrie in Breichen, and Ramsey in Dumblane, brought representations from their provincial meetings to this purpose. But after Lawrie was come to Edinburgh, he wisely then, upon the advice of friends, accommodate himself to Bishop Sharp's sentiments, and supprest his paper. Ramsey made more noise, but after further enquiry, came off upon his knees. Four curats, who hade made most noise, Turner, Cant, Robisone, and Hamilton, were banisht from their charges for conscience sake (as they said) for a while, but were afterward upon satisfaction received, and no more harm done.

But the confidence of presbyterians continued not long without a check; for first, our council, to oppose the growing conventicles, made a new act against conventicles, and contryved a bond to be taken by all gentlemen's tennants, wherein they were to engadge to attend their ordinary paroch churches, and not to be found at any conventicle; and thereafter our councill, at 4 severall mercat crosses in Scotland, Edinburgh, Lanerk, Stirling, Perth, command a number of outed ministers to be cited at a day so very short after the citation, it should not be possible for the persons cited to have information, and make their journey before the date of their ap-

pearance, but they would not be at the pains to send every man a pair of summonds to be execute at their dwelling-house as law requires for every criminal and malefactor; and this they did by their act July 6th, 1674. No man appeared, for all men were assured either of uncertain imprisonment in some ugly prison, or banishment for life. So within a few days all the ministers were denunced rebells and fugitives without mercy: Their names are, Messrs Alexander Lennox, David Williamsone,* Alexander Moncrief,

* This is the "Daintie Davie" of the well-known ballad, composed on an adventure of Williamson's, which is circumstantially detailed in the Presbyterian Eloquence, and in the Memoirs of Captain John Creighton, written by Dean Swift.—"My first action," says Creighton, "after being taken into the guards, was with a dozen gentlemen more to go in quest of Mr David Williamson, a noted covenanter, since made more famous in the book called the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. I had been assured that this Williamson did much frequent the house of my Lady Cherrytrees, (within ten miles of Edinburgh), but when I arrived first with my party about the house, the lady well knowing our errand, put Williamson to bed to her daughter, disguised in a woman's night-dress: When the troopers went to search in the young lady's room, her mother pretended that she was not well; and Williamson so managed the matter, that when the daughter raised herself a little in the bed to let the troopers see her, they did not discover him, and so went off disappointed; but the young lady proved with child, and Williamson, to take off the scandal, married her in some time after. This Williamson married five or six wives successively, and was alive in the reign of Queen Anne, at which time I saw him preaching in one of the kirks in Edinburgh."—Among Pitcairn's poems are two composed on this subject, Venus ad Davidem, and David's Answer. Of the goddess, her votary saith,—

"Illa dedit sanctum populo plaudente videri,
Nullaque non voluit credere virgo Deæ.
Illa dedit stolido mysteria pandere vulgo,
Et dolus in nulla penè fefellit anu."

The observation of King Charles the Second on this story of Williamson, is too in-

John Rae, David Home, Edward Jamison, James Frazer, William Wishart, Thomas Hog in Ross, Robert Lockhart, John Wilkie, George Johnston, Patrick Gillespy, James Kirkton, John Weir, Nathaniel Martin, Andrew Morton, Andrew Donaldsone, John Crichton, William Row, Thomas Urquhart, Thomas Hog in Larbore, William Arskine, James Donaldson, Robert Gillespie, John Gray, James Wedderburn, John Wardlaw, Thomas Douglass, George Campbell, Francis Irvine, John Wallace, Andrew Ander-

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decorous to be repeated. In a pamphlet, called "The Spirit of Calumny and Slander Examined, &c. 1693," mention is made of "the celebrated Mr Williamson, whom all the ladies flocked to see from all the corners of the court, when he delivered his harangue before Queen Mary;" and there also it is asserted, that when he preached before the Scottish parliament after the Revolution, he stole the greater part of his sermon from Bishop Brownrig. We are informed that "the members groaned under his powerful preaching;" and well they might, if the author of "An Account of the late Establishment of the Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, 1690," shall be trusted, who, in enumerating the whig preachers, whose discourses were published at that time, says, "The fourth whose sermon was published, was that able man Mr David Williamson, and a wonderful sermon this was as ever you read: I was once at the pains to number the particulars he had amassed in it, and if my memory serves me they were about 180." He was a captain among the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge; but is reported by Shields, in his Life of Renwick, to have rejoiced, as many of the presbyterians did, at the apprehension of that martyr, whose death, according to Sir George Mackenzie, was anxiously promoted by the covenanters hostile to his sect. "It is said that Mr David Williamson, a minister near the town, was passing by in the mean time, and seeing the tumult and the noise of Mr Renwick's name, wagged his head, expressing some tokens of gladness whereunto he was transported at the sight." It was natural enough for Williamson, now stricken in years, to dislike this youthful demagogue, who had many followers, female as well as male, being "of a fair complexion, and, like another young David, of a ruddy and beautiful countenance."—(*Scots Worthies.*) Moreover, he was accused of frequenting brothel-houses. RENWICK'S *Life, p.* 128. Williamson died minister of the West Kirk of Edinburgh. In the poetical lampoons of the time, he is positively accused of having married no less

son, John Muriman, George Hamilton, Donald Cargill, Alexander Bertram, James Wilson, Robert Maxwell,—in all 39. These were the stock of the preaching church that was driven into the wilderness: Their ministry was a sort of outlawry, and by the bishops' activity these (with the ministers forfaulted before and joyning afterward), made up that body of people who first made separation

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than seven wives!! From the same source we learn that he espoused his last, Mrs Jean Straiton, May 20, 1700; and appears to have deceased shortly after, as the following silly "Roundell upon the Death of Mr Williamson, composed by an abdicate Curate, Mr Ealder," is subjoined to his Epithalamium,—

"The seventh wife Davie
The kirk doth sadly want,
Who opposed the tribe of Levie,
The seventh wife Davie,—
The seventh gave him the spavie,
And kill'd a w—g sanct."

It is singular enough that Williamson never formally contradicted the story of his frailty in the house of Cherrytrees, as the report was so widely diffused and so universally credited; but perhaps he trusted to the sanctity of his vocation for acquittal from his own sect, and was regardless of the profane jesting and back-biting of malignants. —See *Evergreen, vol.* 1. *p.* 71, for Semple's Expostulation with the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who most harshly entreated Mistress Grissel Sandilands, in whose company a reforming clergyman, one Beton, had been caught.—

"To Sandylands ye war our sair, to schame hir,
Sen ze with council quietly might command hir;
Grit fulis ze war with fallows to defame hir,
Haifing nae caus but common fame and sklander;
Quhen finding no man in the house neir hand hir,
Except a clerk of godly conversation,
Quhat gif beside John Durie's self ze fand hir,
Dar ze suspect the haly congregation?"

from bishops and than curats, and thereafter overthrew the party and wrought the reformation. But that you may understand how exact their justice was in this, they were not indeed so exact as the Jew was in laying on the number of his stripes, for among these denunced some were dead, some never hade a being in the world, some hade never offended since the indemnity, and were preaching in churches by virtue of the indulgence; but they stood not much upon a forme who hade so far destroyed the substance of the Lord's law. With the ministers were joyned a number of gentlemen and commons, but their names I forbear. All these ministers were not alike bussie in the conventicles; some were more, some lesse, but these who were young and strong used ordinarily to be most active, and truely there were not many house conventicles kept except in Edinburgh or the great cities; for ordinarly the ministers in the countrey went to the fields, and the people hade a sort of affectation to the fields above houses. Also when the people in the countrey desired a minister, they used to come to Edinburgh, or the cities where the ministers' families lurked, and thence to borrow a minister for their purpose. With those ministers many others joyned in that practise, both expectants and actual ministers. Their outlawrie chased them to the fields; the necessities, desires, and curiosity of the people increased the number of their meetings even to thousands, and their danger from the souldiers oblidged them to bring armes with them. So these conventicles, by the bishop's activity, were brought to resemble armies, the thing in the world the bishops hated most. To speak of particulars at these meetings is a work would fill a volume, (and indeed many things very wonderfull and extraordinary happened at them;) I shall only in general say, within a little time they became so numerous and formidable, our state thought fitt even to forbear what they could not help. Not many gentlemen of estates durst come, but many ladies, gen-

tlewomen, and commons came in good multitudes.* The greatest news was of the wonderfull conversion that followed upon these sermons, where sometimes people discovered their own secret scandals, sometimes people of age bemoaned their want of baptisme, and received it at these occasions; and sometimes a curat would come, and after the first sermon stand up and profess his repentance for his way, and afterward would consecrate himself to that work by a solemn field-preaching. Indeed, several curats in diverse places changed their way, forsook their churches, and joyned with the conventicles, and were, upon their candid acknowledgement, even as welcome to the people as any presbyterian among them all. But so the work of the gospell advanced in Scotland for many severall years. Yet certain it is, that from the date of the establishment of bishops, popery and atheism, two poysoned weeds which ought to have been suppress and eradict, were not only forborn but nourished, and instead of crimes, came to the respect of priviledges. I shall give one instance: In Leith, about the time of our indulgences, a trunk filled with popish books, (such as Turbervile's Manual, and others,) also pictures, crosses, and relicts, was upon a time seized by the customers, and some of the copies were brought to

* An instance of the wonderful perseverance with which some gentlewomen attended these conventicles, is given in the Memoirs of the Rev. Mr Blackadder.

"A very honest gentlewoman in Lithgow, coming to the meeting, fell off from behind her husband and broke her arm, (a rare thing that any met with such hurt at these meetings, for all the hazard they had oft been in); notwithstanding, she came forward, and heard all the forenoon composedly without fainting, which was marked by her and others as a singular mercy, and would have stayed afternoon also, being so earnest to hear and see such a day in that part of the country, but the minister desired her husband to take her home. She recovered very soone after. She was more troubled to get it kept closs for enemies insulting than for her own hurt."

our councill; some of our councellors were so hot as to throw a copie in the fire, which was ane act highly magnified by our courtier ministers. Many complaints were also made upon a northern priest to whom this treasure was directed. A certain councellor, Sir Archibald Primrose by name, resolved to try what they could doe; so he conduced with two bold messengers to catch the priest at Leith; and because he kept himself alwayes in company of popish gentlemen, such as Pitfoddell, the messengers resolved to have a hitt at the 500 merks Sir Archibald Primrose hade promised, and therefore they provide the assistance of some stout men in case of resistance. But because the chancellor suspected the hazard, he took his coach quietly and got him to Leith, where he ordered the business so, the priest was conveyed out of the way, and the messengers mist him.* Another instance was in the paroch of Wiston, in Clidsdale, when the people were in the highest degree of opposing curats. The church being vacant and a curat to enter, the people rose in a tumult, and with stones and battons chased the curat and his company out of the field. A lady in that paroch was blamed as a ringleader in the tumult, and brought before the councill; she came to the barre, and after her lybell was read, the chancellor ask-

* "Feb. 1677. About this same tyme we had a relation about the Captain of Clanronald's ladie, a cousin to the Earl of Seaforth, that being Roman catholick, and finding herselfe indisposed, shee desired one Pere Whyte might be sent for from Invernes to confesse hir, which hir husband, tho' protestant, assented to: this father, after some stay, prevailed so far that he had debaucht hir; and the captain having one day gone to hunting, and returning suddenly to bring something he had forgot, surprized them together in some unchast posture, whereon he immediatly caused lead out the priest to his utter gate, and hung him over it; and sent hir some days journey into the Hylands, with expresse inhibition not to returne. M'K. in his Plaidoires, p. 196, affirms that the Roman law allows to kill a wife taken in the act of adulterie: but see the restrictions of it in margine."—FOUNTAINHALL'S *MSS.*

ed if these accusations were true or not? She answered briefly, the devill one word was true in them. The councellors lookt one upon another; and the chancellor replyed, Well, madam, I adjourn you for a fyfteen dayes; which never yet hade ane end, and there her persecution ended; such virtue there was in a short curse, fully to satisfie such governours, and many thought it good policy to demonstrate themselves to be honest profane people, that they might vindicate themselves of the dangerous suspicion of being presbyterians.* But after the company of ministers were declared rebells,

* Though a vast multitude of the female sex in Scotland, headed by women of high rank, such as the Duchess of Hamilton, Ladies Rothes, Wigton, Loudon, Colvill, &c. privately encouraged, or openly followed the field-preachers, whose strength of lungs, and *affecting conveyance*, as they called it, drew floods of tears from their eyes, and made the lower ranks pull off their *bigonets* and *mutches* during the spasms of their hysterical devotion; yet there were ladies of the opposite persuasion, whose enthusiasm almost equalled that of the covenanting sisterhood. Anne Keith, a daughter of Keith of Benholm, (brother to Earl Marishall,) and by the courtesy of the time stiled Lady Methven, being the wife of Patrick Smythe of Methven, signalized herself in the vigorous suppression of a conventicle, attempted to be held on the estate of her husband, then absent in London with the Marquis of Montrose. She marched forth, armed with a gun and sword, at the head of her vassals, to intimidate the assemblage of whigs, which far surpassed in numbers her undisciplined retinue, and after some parley, fairly scared them from off the field. From the correspondence of this heroine with her husband, the following letters and extracts have been selected, as exhibiting a curious contrast to the fervours of the presbyterian devotees; and the editor has subjoined a letter, addressed to her by Archbishop Sharp, which proves that he at least knew how to estimate her courage and loyalty.

"FOR THE LAIRD OF METHVEN, ATT LONDON.

"MY PRECIOUS LOVE,

"In answer to your frequent desires to keep your command free of disorderlie people, as I wrote formerlie to you, we war tormented with a field conventickle which

the bishops and councill used but little legal execution, because in-

cam betwixt Coupmallindie and Gask's ground. The Monday after their coming, I caused try who had been there of our concern; only twa wimmen, the one a vasell wife, who promised to the provist and me not to goe again; the other a widow in ——burne. She had no body to bind for hir. I caused call a court, and, in the king's majesties name and yours, conjured them not to break the laws and statutes of this nation, under the pains of the rigour of punishments. There is non in your ground gone since. Hade Tippermallo, and Balgowan the tutor, and the rest, taken such course, we hade been tymelier free of them. I caused hold a court in our own hall, and the one wyfe hade not money to pay the officer for summonding her; I caused her deliver her apron till she should pay. I have lattlie com to my hearing, there is som of the poor vassel-men bene there; with the nixt ye shall have noties of my handling them to the lenth of justies. The provist tould all that spock with him in that affair, if everie master kieped as strick an eye over their ground as ye allowed me to doe, there wold be no conventickells in the land; they ar an ignorant wicked pack, the Lord God clier the nation of them.

"I am your faithfull deput to the power of

"ANNE KEITH."

"FOR MY HEART-KEEPER.

"MY PRECIOUS LOVE,

"A multitud of men and women from east, wast and south, come the 13 day of this October to hold a field conventickell two bows draught above our church; they hade their tent set up before the sun, upon your ground. I seeing them flocking to it, sent through your ground, and charged them to repair to your brother David, the baillie, and me, to the Castell-hill, where we hade butt 60 armed men; your brother with drawn sword and bent pistoll, I with the light horsman's piece bent, on my left arm, and a drawn tuck in my right hand, all your servants well armed, merched fordert, and keiped the one half of them fronting with the other, that wer garding their minister, and their tent, which is their standert. That rear partie that we yocked with, most of them wer St Johnston's people; many of them hade no will to be known, but rid off to sie what we wold doe. They marched toward Busbie, we marched be west them, and gained ground before they could gather in a body. They

deed people became desperate by the laws, and regarded only force

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sent off a partie of a 100 men to sie what we meent, to hinder them to miet; we told, if they wold not goe from the parish of Methven presantlie, it should be a bluddie day, for I protested, and your brother, before God, we wold ware our liffes upon them befor they should preach in our regallitie or parish. They said they wold preach. We charged them either to fycht or flie. They drew to a counsell amongs themselffs what to doe; at last, about 2 ours in the afternune, they wold goe away if we wold lett the bodie that was above the church, with the tent, march frielie after them; we was content, knowing they wer ten tymes as manie as we was, and our advantage was keiping the one half a mylle from the other, be marching in order betwixt them. They, seeing we was desperat, marched our the Pow; and so we went to the church, and heard a feared minister preach. They have sworn not to stand with such ane affronte, but resolves to come the next Lord's day; and I, in the Lord's strenth, intends to accost them with all that will come to assist us. I have caused your officer warn a solemn court of vassalls, tennants, and all within our power to meet on Thursday, where I intend, if God will, to be present, and there to order them in God and our king's name to convine well armed to the kirkyard on Sabbath morning by 8 ours, wher your brother and I, with all our servant men and others we can mak, shall march to them, and, if the God of Heaven will, they shall either fycht, or goe out of our parish; but alesse! there is no parish about us will doe the like, which discuradges our poor handfull; yett if all the eretors in the parish be loyall and stout, we will mak 500 men and boys that may carrie armes. I have written to your nevo the tresorer of Edin: to send me twa brasse hagbutts of found, and that with the bearer. If they come against Setterday, I will have them with us. My love, present my humbell dewtie to my Lord Marques and my Lady, lykwayes all your friends, and, my blessed love, comfort yourself in this, if the fanaticks chance to kill me, it shall not be for noucht. I was wounded for our gracious king, and now in the strenth of the Lord God of Heaven, I'll hazard my person with the men I may command, before these rebells rest where ye have power; sore I miss yow, but now mor as ever.

"On Monday the 14 your brother, the baillie, and I rade in to the toune, and I call on the provest, who cam to Lady Margrat Hay's to me. I tould him how matters went the day before with us. He promises to caus garde the ports Setterday and Sonday next to keep in the rabble of rebells. The sherriff was away to Edin: else I hade spock to him that he would charge Ballgowan and Tippermallo to caus their men assist us. More of this ye will hear the nixt week. This is the first opposition that they

and military execution. Sir Andrew Ramsey at this time acquired

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have rancountred, so as to force them to flie out of a parish, God grant it be good hansell! There would be no fear of it if we were all steel to the back. My precious, I am so transported with zeall to beat the whiges, that I almost forgot to tell yow my Lord Marques of Montrose hath 2 virtious ladys to his sisters, and it is one of the loveliest sights in all Scotland, their nunrie: I sie many young gentillwomen there, helping them to close a verrie fine piece of sowing. Our onest Bishop Lindsay is laying sick of the gutt in his knies, and down to his futt; he was heartilie remembered to yow. So is all I miet with. I wrott to yow formerlie to expeck me up if ye wold not come; now I have engaged with the conventickells, from whom I will not flie. I know ye will allow me to doe what I am abell to suppress them; I'll doe good will, God give the blessing is the prayer of your

"ANNE KEITH.

"*Methven-Wood, the* 15 *instant*, 1678."

"LYFF OF MY LOVE,

"I wrote to you the 14 instant of the surprising rancounter I had with an intended field conventickell in our parish, which was the first, and I hope shall be the last. My handsell was not good to them, for Ballachen, with my Lord Marques' men, chased them off Lawhill above Colluther. He desired our baillie of your regallitie to assist, which I sent, and your man Speidie, the one upon the stoned hors, the other upon the stage. They got a sore day's tassel amongst these Ochill hills. The Athole men got sore travel, but they went laden home with less or more. It is a grievus matter we dare not drawe their blude, yett must disperss them; how should that be if they come weill armed to fight? The acts against them are for and against; riddells indeed not easie understood. My love, if every parish were armed, and the stout loyall heads joyning, with orders to concurr, and libertie to suppress them as enemies to our king and the nation, these vaging gypsies wold settle. My most precious, upon the 17 day I was presant at our court, where the pitifull ignorants that had been with them were fyned, and bound to obedience for time to come. Next, all your tenants, with what more wold answer, was ordained to compier at the Wast-wood by 7 ours in the Sabbath morning with the best armes they hade, under the pain of 10 lb. I sent to Tippermallo, who granted me his men. I sent to Ballgowan, the baillie, to require

the barrony of Waughton, and the island or rock of the Bass among

his assistance, who even down refused his men, and declared, if the conventickells were at his gate, he would onlie protest against them, and no more. Onest Provest Hay cam to sie me on the Satturday, and at my desire wreatt an order for all Backellton's ground; Busbie sent order for his, so all the most part convened with good order; they were kieped there till Ballichen sent to me intelligence we might goe to the church. We have good will to keip the parish frie, but wants arms for the two-part of our men. What was provided was most part borrowed from the niber parishes. All that is done, or can be done, will not stop them, except other acts be made, and more severe cours be taken——none of this familie, speciallie I, can goe any way without wapons. The spirit of revenge boasts against me for beginning ther stopping in this parish. My love, ther is forces lying in Kinross and Fackland, who hath chased many up to Stratherne. They are commanded, as Captain reports, to persew them no farder than Fyffe marches; so we are exposed to the hazard, and must pay for it to these that will not help us. My dear, how shall this part of Perth shire oppose this unrewly multitude, who keips close where they intend to miet, and we have neither armes, nor allowance to keip men to wait them?—In this same time, if the noble and gentlemen hade command, and allowance to mantene men to wait them, we would be known as daring a loyal peopell as should be in this nation. I know my love will laff at me, but it is generallie known to be truth."

"*Methven-Wood, 4th Nov.* 1678.

"The Marques of Atholl's men that Ballechen commanded frighted the conventickell more then all the sogers under pay in this nation; sutch a fear they have gott that they have had no meeting in this syde of Earne watter since that day I banished them, which was the first that ever they entred upon any propertie in this syde of Earne watter. It is said the Bishop of Galloway, to make trew his letters, had hyred them to begin at yow. Ther is much envy and hadred for crossing the conventickells, but no encouragement to a faithfull trew-hearted subjeck. Our governours are made up of Machevell's principles. We look for peace this winter, since loyall Argyll lets the Mackallen be; but if they yock, be sure of all malcontents taking the opportunitie——our kynd provest and dene-a-gild, Glasse, was at the Archbishop of San^t Andros for keiping the toun's libertie of choysing a new minister. He was verrie siffel to

the rest. This he sold to our king, (as was reported, for some thou-

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them, and after he had tryed at the provest all the way of my proceeding against the conventickell, which was trewly repeatted, the Archbishop drank my good health, and said the clargie of this nation was obliged to me. But it was the Lord God's doing, who made me his instrument; praise, honor, and glory be to his great name."

"*Dec.* 16.

"The conventickell is every Sabbath at Thorniehill again. We have most part of the shyre payd the first term's supplie, and as yet we hear of no forces coming to this shyre to suppres them. If they come back again to us, in obedience to yow, and loyaltie to my gratious king, they should goe warr away then they did last time, I being better provided of powder and lead, and all except Ballgowen is willing to follow me to so just pursuit; tho' I have got no thanks from the counsell, nather is any parish commanded to doe the lyk, yett my dewtie and love to his sacred majestie shall encurrage me to be singular against a powerfull enemie, as they are in this nation."

"TO THE LADY METHVEN.

"*St Andrews, March* 27, 1679.

"MADAM,

"I had the favour of your ladieship's letter, signifying to me your purpose that Mr John Omey be presented to the church of Methven, vacant by the deceas of Mr Hew Ramsey. I am well sattisfyed with Mr Omey, who is a good man and a worthy minister, and shall be rady to goe along with your husband the Laird of Methven his desyne in reference to him. I am glad to find that your husband, a gentleman noted for his loyalty to the king and affection to the church, is so happy as to have a consort of the same principles and inclinations for the publick settlement, who has given proofe of her aversion to joyn in society with separatists, and partaking of that sin, to which soe many of that sex doe tempt their husbands in this evill tyme, when schism, sedition, and rebellion are gloryed in, though Christianity does condemne them as the

sand pounds English, wherein usually the procuring courtier hade his good share,) and a dear bargain it was.* But the use the king made of it was, to make it a prison for the presbyterian ministers, and some of them thought when they died in the prison, (as Mr John Blackadder did,) they glorified God in the islands.† But it became

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greatest crimes. Your ladieship, in continuing the course of your examplary piety and zeall for the apostolick doctrine and government, shall have approbation from God and all good men, which is of more value then a popular vogue from an humorous silly multitude, who know not what they doe in following the way of seduction. You are commendit to the establishment of God's grace in truth and peace, by,

" Honored Madam,

" Your ladieship's humble servant,

" St Andrews."

* " Sir Andrew Ramsay, having neither for a just price, nor by the fairest means, got a title to a bare insignificant rock in the sea, called the Bass, and to a publick debt, both belonging to the Lord of Wachton; my Lord Lauderdale, to gratifie Sir Andrew, moves the king, upon the pretence of this publick debt, and that the Bass was a place of strength (like to a castle in the moon) and of great importance, (the only nest of Solen geese in these parts,) to buy the rock from Sir Andrew, at the rate of L.4000 sterling, and then obtains the command and profits of it, amounting to more than L.100 sterling yearly, to be bestowed upon himself."—*An Account of Scotland's Grievances, by reason of the D. of Lauderdale's Ministrie.*

† Blackadder's Memoirs are to be found among the Wodrow MSS. " He was ordained minister at Troqueer 1653, was from thence ejected after the Restoration, preached afterward in the fields under many hardships, was declared a rebel 1670; was apprehended after many remarkable escapes, and brought before the council 1687, when he boldly avowed his preaching in the fields, and his Master's warrant so to do; and being *on the reserve as to the Torwood Excommunication*, he was by them sent to the Bass, where he continued prisoner until he entered into his Master's joys, about the year 1686." *Faithful Contendings displayed.*—He had a son, Colonel Blackadder, a soldier in the Duke of Marlborough's army, who wrote his own Memoirs, which have been printed. He was as great a fanatic as his father, pretending that

to be a rule of practise among that sort of people, whenever any of them was called before the councill, that either they behooved to satisfie the bishop, which never ane of them did, or else goe to the Bass; so all of them refused to appear. And our governours expected no more respect or obedience to their summonds. The bishops hade indeed up and down the countrey a number of blood-hounds, whose business it was to catch a minister, or it may be a troublesome professor; and truely the state of the countrey seemed to resemble warre as much as peace, in many respects. Conventicles increased both in houses and fields, where they were indeed most offensive; for the men went ordinarily with armes, and the souldiers next adjacent lookt upon them as the appearance of ane enemy. Many skirmishes there were, much violence was used and indiscretion on both sides. Ministers preacht (without the censure of their presbytery,) whatever was their own opinion in any emergent case, the people were sometimes as much judges as disciples; yet it was believed the gospel hade in these years large as great successe, as if the presbyterians hade possessed the churches; yet something the bishops would doe in a legal way, and by virtue of their goodly laws, and that was, if they could not reach the poor preaching ministers' persons, they would needs make their being in a world as bitter as might be; and therefore our council emitt a proclamation, wherein they promise 500 merks to any man that shall catch or apprehend the person of any minister or preacher who preached at any time in the fields. And thereafter, as if the coun-

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Heaven inspired him with means to cure himself of the tooth-ache, p. 89; and in his epistolary correspondence, he tells his wife and another gentlewoman that he hath still his Ebenezer before him, which I dare say they were very glad to hear, considering the dangers of war.

trey hade been infested with a civill warre, they resolve to settle garrisons in a number of honest peaceable gentlemen's houses, only to defend their countrey from the invasion of the conventicles, especially the field preachers; and in some dissatisfied paroches that were large, they settled two garrisons, as in Lesmahagow; one garrison at the Corhouse, then belonging to Mr John Bannatyne, (who, at that time, with many other gentlemen, was prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, only because they would not take the test, and who were also fyned, some of them to the value of their estates, upon pretence of harbour and resett of rebells;) another garrison at Blackwood, in the same paroch; but because it was a most illegal thing for the magistrate, who should protect every man in his just possession, to turn honest people out of their houses; and because this method was censured even by the court itself, after they hade brangled awhile, they were constrained to quite this purpose. Only wherever the souldiers of the army were quartered, they were appointed to be upon their watch-tower against conventicles, whereever they might be discovered; and so they were indeed many a day. And lastly, they pickt some 20 or more of those ministers, of whom they heard greatest complaints as most bussy in conventicles and field meetings; and these, together with a considerable number of gentlemen and others, they intercommune, which was the greatest length they could goe. This intercommuning is in Scotland a very severe sentence, because it makes every man who shall either harbour, entertain, or converse with the persone intercommuned, equally guilty with the principal criminal; and the wonder was, they intercommuned some married women to terrifie their husbands. But at this time intercommuning was not so stretcht and improven as after Bothwell Bridge, where converse with a few rebells made almost all Scotland as guilty as if they hade been in

armes against the king at Bothwell Bridge. All this was done by our councill in summer 1675; and when they could goe no further, they forbare for a time. But tho' our council sisted in their persecutions upon denunciation and intercommuning, so did not our officers and souldiers, who rested not but upon imprisoning, robbing, wounding, killing the poor fanatick and conventicler where they might find him; and truely many of our souldiers made persecution not so much a duty of their office as ane employment of gaine. So the ordinary news were the incarceration of honest men, both ministers and professors, depredations, concussions, and many times where there were field conventicles, they were attended with bloody skirmishes, especially in Lothian; and indeed the inflammations of Scotland looked large more like a civil warre, manadged by bloody violence, than ane ecclesiastical shisme, which uses to be confirmed by arguments. However, as the conventicles multiplied, so the number that forsook the episcopal church increast likewayes; and wherever a minister came, multitudes at lest left the curat, and in many places people really changed their conversation, and became real converts.

The reasons of this were commonly these: First, people listned to the presbyterians with attention, because they preached upon hazard; and forasmuch as this word was costly, it was the more prized by the people, and truely in many places it became the fashion. Another reason was, the strange judgements seen upon those who were or hade been persecutors. It was well known and observed what happened those who hade injured the poor whiggs who fled from Pentland: In the upper ward of Clidsedale, when some of them fled that night through Carnwath, one of the towns men carried some of them into the moss and there murdered them. It was told by the people of the village to myself within a little time there-

after, that frequently a fire was seen arise from that place in the moss where the murder was committed, and thereafter creeping over land, it covered the murtherer's house: Himself (as I was told) perished, and his childeren are beggars to this day. What curses befell the people of Biggar, who were guilty of this fact, and how poor Laurence Boe died in high despair, accusing himself of the secret murther of two, was well known, and as well remembred by the neighbours.* Another was the scandalous stories that passed upon the bishops and curats, both for life and doctrine; and as among these there were some false, so there were many too too true, which were a tentation to atheism with some, and ane inducement to follow conventicles among others. However, little thing was done by our councill after the ministers were intercommuned, and things continued pretty quiet for a whole year's space, only at that time Sir Patrick Home of Polwart (for some words spoken before the Lord Collington, while he was seeking a suspension upon a

* For a most terrific account of dreadful accidents, attended with death-bed despair, which befell the enemies of the whigs, see *God's Justice Exemplified in his Judgements upon Persecutors, &c. printed at the end of the Scots Worthies.*" Wodrow is very careful to record these things whenever they come in his way, though he observes that "we ought to be very sparing in making particular peremptory consequences from providences." Of all such spiritual delinquencies, any outrage to the Covenant seems to have been attended with the most dismal results, and seldom remained long unpunished; nay, remorse in some cases immediately succeeded the crime, and threw the offender into cureless agonies, both of body and mind. After the Restoration, a young man had the audacity to hang the solemn League and Covenant upon a sign-post or gibbet; "and it pleased the Lord to strike him immediately with a sense of what he had done, and he is since worn away to nothing but skin and bone; and whether he be now living or no we can give no certain account."—*Mirabilis Annus Secundus, or the Second Year of Prodigies, being a true and impartial Collection of many strange Signes and Apparitions which have this last Year been seen in the Heavens, and on the Earth, and in the Waters, &c.* 1662.

publict charge), was brought before the councill: His words were judged a reflection upon the government, himself fyn'd and incarcerate for a long time in Edinburgh and Stirling castles; and this was his first apprenticeship, but afterwards he drunk deeper of that cup. Also Mr James Mitchell, who had mist the bishop with his pistoll, was taken and brought before the councill; and as upon promise of life he confest his fault, so afterward with the same constancy he retracted his confession, but this did not his business.*

* "In the month of December, 1674. Mr James Mitchell, supposed to be the man who, in 1668, aiming to pistoll the Archbishop of St Andrew's in his oune coach, was ane ill gunner, and with the ball chattered Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, (who was sitting by) his arme, being first discovered at the buriall of Mr Robert Douglas the minister, and apprehended, and examined by my Lord Chancellor before witnesses, who promised if he would confesse and acknowledge it, he should warrand his life, upon which assurance of impunity he freely confessed he was the person; but afterwards, fearing leist faith should not be keeped to him, he resiled, and revocked his confession; and it being emitted extrajudicially (not in presence of a quorum of the criminall lords) it could not bind him, nor be a relevant ground of condemnation. Finding they could not reach him upon this head, the bishop caused indyte him as one of the traitors who ware in armes at Pentland Raid in 1666, and made him be tortured, and cawed in the boots to extort a confession, but hitherto he stands to his deniall, and is still keipt in prison."—*Lord* FOUNTAINHALL'S *MS.*

The Bishop of Orkney never completely recovered from the wound inflicted by Mitchell, a subject of much triumph to the whigs, among whom James Stewart, (afterwards Sir James), in his pernicious and flat book called *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, a reply to the answer which the bishop wrote to *Naphthali*, talks of Honeyman as *captious* from his *green wound, which he got per accidens because of ill company.* Mitchell and his friends were sorely puzzled by a difficulty with regard to the divine impulse which incited him to murder the Primate, started by Annand, dean of Edinburgh, in a letter addressed to the assassin. The dean urged that this impulse could not possibly come from God, like the impulse of Phineas, &c. because he failed in the attempt, which never any person did or could do, who was moved by God to commit any such action. This was a sad stumbling-block to Mitchell, who could only answer that success doth not always follow the commandments of God, "more than it did to

At this time Lauderdale govern'd Scotland at his pleasure: Whatever he desired of the king was granted; whatever he required of the councill was obeyed more readily than a hundred of our old kings; and truely whatever the man was, he was neither judged a cruell persecutor nor ane avaritious exactor (excepting his brother and wife's solicitations) all the times of his government; so after the ministers were intercommuned, things continued pretty quiet till a small spark kindled a great flame, and because much followed upon this particular, and that it hath been falsly printed, I shall give it more distinctly:* Mr James Kirkton, one of the outed ministers, walking Edinburgh street about noon, was very civily accosted by a young gentleman, Captain Carstaires, attended by another gentleman and a lackey. Carstaires desyred to speak a word with him, to which he answered he would wait upon him, but because he knew not to whom he spake, he quietly asked the other gentleman (James Scot of Tushielaw) who this young gentleman might be, but Scot answered with silence and staring. Then Mr Kirkton perceived he was prisoner among his enemies, but was very glade they carried him to a private house, and not to the prison, which they were very near; but they carried him to Carstaire's chamber, ane ugly dark hole in Robert Alexander, messenger, his house. As soon as ever he was brought into the house, Carstaires abused him

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Israel, Jos. 7, 12. against the city of Ai, because there was an *Achan in the camp*, and, alas! there are many Achans in the camp of our Israel, &c."—*Postscript to* MITCHELL'S *Letter*.

* The affair was detailed in a pamphlet addressed to the king, and entitled, "Some particular Matters of Fact relating to the Administration of Affairs in Scotland under the Duke of Lauderdale, humbly offered to your Majesties Consideration, in obedience to your Royal Commands." The author describes Captain Carstares as "a person now well enough known to your majesty."

with his tongue, and pusht him till he got him into his own chamber, which made the people of the house weep. After he hade got him into his ugly chamber, he sent away Scot and Douglass his lackey (Mr Kirkton supposed) to fetch his companions, but as soon as they were alone Mr Kirkton askt him what he meant? What he would doe with him? Carstaires answered, Sir, you owe me money. Mr Kirkton askt him whom he took him to be, denying he owed him any thing. Carstaires answered, Are not you John Wardlaw? Mr Kirkton denied, telling him who he was indeed. Then Carstaires answered, if he were Mr Kirkton he hade nothing to say to him. Mr Kirkton askt him who he was? He answered, he was Scot of Erkletone; whom indeed he did much resemble, but spoke things so inconsistent, Mr Kirkton knew not what to think, for if Carstaires hade designed to make him prisoner, he might easily have done it before. But after they hade stayed together about half ane hour, Mr Kirkton begane to think Carstaires desired money, and was just beginning to make his offer of money to Carstaires, when Jerriswood, Andrew Stevenson, and Patrick Johnston came to the chamber-door, and called in to Carstaires, asking what he did with a man in a dark dungeon all alone? Mr Kirkton, finding his friends come, took heart; "Now," sayes Mr Kirkton to Carstaires, "there be some honest gentlemen at your door who will testifie what I am, and that I am not John Wardlaw; open the door to them." "That will I not," sayes Carstaires; and with that layes his hand on his pocket-pistoll, which Mr Kirkton perceiving, thought it high time to appear for himself, and so clapt Carstaires closs in his armes; so mastering both his hands and his pistoll, they struggled a while in the floor, but Carstaires being a feeble body, was borne back into a corner. The gentlemen without hearing the noise, and one crying out of murther, burst quickly the door open (for it hade neither key nor bolt), and so entered and quietly

severed the strugglers, tho' without any violence or hurt done to Carstaires. As soon as Mr Kirkton and the gentlemen hade left Carstaires alone, Scot his companion came to him, and they resolved not to let it goe so, but to turn their private violence into state service; and so to Hatton they goe with their complaint, and he upon the story calls all the lords of the councill together (tho' they were all at dinner), as if all Edinburgh hade been in armes to resist lawfull authority, for so they represented it to the councill; and he told the councill, when they were conveened, that their publick officers hade catcht a fanatick minister, and that he was rescued by a numerous tumult of the people of Edinburgh. The councill tryed what they could, and examined all they could find, and after all could discover nothing upon which they could fasten. Mr Kirkton hade informed his friends that it was only a reall robbery designed, and that indeed money would have freed him, if Carstaires and he hade finished what he begune to offer, and the councill could find no more in it; and so some councellors were of opinion the councill might doe best to pass it so altogether. But Bishop Sharp told them, that except Carstaires were encouraged, and Jerriswood made ane example, they needed never think a man would follow the office of hunting fanaticks; and upon this all these who resolved to follow the time, and please the bishops, resolved to give Sharp his will. So the next councill day, after much high and hot debate in the councill, Jerriswood was fyned 9000 merks, (3000 of it to be given to Carstaires for a present reward;) Andrew Stevenson was fyned 1500 merks, and Patrick Johnston in a 1000, and all three condemned to ly in prison till Mr Kirkton were brought to relieve them. This act bare date Jully 3d, 1676, and occasioned great complaining. All the reason the councill gave of their severe sentence is, that they found Jerriswood guilty of resisting authority, by Captain Carstaires' production of his warrand before the councill. But this did not satisfie men of reason; for, first, it was thought unaccountable that a lybell

should be proven by the single testimony of ane infamous accuser, against the declaration of 3 unquestionable men, and all the witnesses examined. Next, Carstaires producing of a warrand at the councill table did not prove he produced any warrand to Jerriswood, and indeed he produced none to him, because he hade no warrand himself at that time. As for the warrand he produced, it was write and subscribed by Bishop Sharp after the deed was done, tho' the bishop gave it a false date long before the true day. It was well known Carstaires had a warrand from the bishop some moneths before, but it is as well known he burnt his warrand in the Earl of Kincairn's house a moneth before he took Mr Kirkton, so the foundation upon which the councill built was a forgery. But at that time they were in such a rage, that, because a great number of the town of Edinburgh went to see what they would doe in so odious a particular, a question was stated at the councill table whether all the people in the lobby should be imprisoned or not, and they escapt prison only by one vote. But Sharp and Hatton must have their will; and it was strange to consider what a flame this spark kindled. The first thing done after the vote was, Hatton sent up a false information of the affair to his brother, wherein he accused all who hade spoke against the vote, as if they hade agreed to subvert authority; upon which the secret councill of Scotland was changed, and all who hade spoke against the vote were ejected; among these were Duke Hamilton, (who hade said very much,) the lord privy seall, the Earle of Kincairn, formerly Lauderdale's great friend, the Lord Cochrane, and severall others. The next thing they did was, they intercommuned all the 16 ministers who hade been formerly denounced rebells, and were not intercommuned; and among these Mr Kirkton hade the first place. But Mr Kirkton in his distresse thought fitt to try his friendship at court, and therefore he took the boldness to write to the Duchess of Lauderdale, who hade made great professions of friendship to him some little time before; so he wrote and sent up a true

information of the whole affair to her, complaining sadly of the wrong that was done him and his friends. All the kindness he hade from her was, (after she hade shewed his letter and information to the duke, who was indeed astonished at the information, confessing he hade never in his life seen two informations differ so far as Mr Kirkton's differed from my Lord Hatton's,) she sent down his letter and information to the enraged councill, to see what they would make of it for ane accusation. This made Hatton foam, and rage, and swear; but at that time it was not in his power to doe more. The Earle of Kincairn and some others rode to court, to complain and show the king the truth in the matter, and used great plainness with the king, lamenting much that Scotland was abused by Hatton's tyranny under his brother's authority, supported alwayes by the king. But all to no purpose, for he hade no more of the king but two or three fair words, and so he came away; only he and Lauderdale of great friends became bitter enemies, and so continued to the day of their death. Now there was nothing to be seen in the countrey but violence and persecution. A presbyterian might not sett his head out at doors. Poor Mr James Gillon, late minister at Cavers, they catcht lying sick in a house near Edinburgh, and brought him to Edinburgh prison, and so he died within a day or two without so much as ane accusation. At this time also the councill thought fitt to send for a number of gentlemen out of the west, such as Castlemilk, Dunlop, Aickenhead, Westburn, Hardgray, and many more, only because the councill was in a heat; but the gentlemen, when they were imprisoned, were accused of accession to conventicles, and so all of them continued prisoners a long time, and some of them were severely fyned before they were dismist. The ministers in the time of this tempest (many of them) withdrew into Northumberland, where many of them sett up the trade they hade followed in the south of Scotland; especially Mr John Welsh, that

arch rebell, who hade the confidence at that time to have a dwelling house near Tweedside, where (I heard him say,) he dwelt as pleasantly for some weeks as ever he did in Scotland; and sometimes, when Tweed was strongly frozen over, he preacht in the midst of the river, that either he might shun the offence of both nations, or at least the two nations might dispute his crime. Severall times orders came from above, both from the king, the Bishop of Durham, and others, to banish the Scottish fugitives; but the English gentry made no haste, so the ministers continued there for that winter. In the mean time of this tempest, the court clamoured so fast against the councill for what they hade done against Jerriswood and his friends, it was thought necessary to liberate Andrew Stevenson and Patrick Johnston within two moneths of their imprisonment; so they were sett free both from fyne and perpetual imprisonment. But you most know that this could not be done till Mr Stevenson presented Hatton with a piece of good wine, and a parcell of curious lace, and then he permitted justice to be done. As for Jerriswood, after he hade lyen in prison for 4 moneths, and payed 3000 merks to Carstaires for the reward of his diligence, he was dismist from his imprisonment, and discharged the rest of his fyne, and there was ane end of that particular.*

But tho' the souldiers were very bussy in catching ministers and suppressing conventicles, some ministers were doing on; and sometimes the military powers were affronted, notwithstanding all their

* "Jerriswood's father was a son of the Laird of St John's Kirk, who is a cadet of Lammington, who say they are the old Balliol's."—*Lord* FOUNTAINHALL'S *MS.*—"William Livingstone of Jerriswood sold that estate to George Baillie, merchant in Edinburgh, in the reign of King Charles the First."—DOUGLAS'S *Peerage.*—Baillie, says Fountainhall, married a daughter of Lord Warriston, which first rendered him hostile to government.—He was hanged for treason on the 24th of December, 1684.

might and violence; for a conventicle at Lilisleife Moore, being attackt by a party of dragoons, notwithstanding all the hazard, drew out a few of this company to oppose them, and tho' they were but unarmed countrey people, yet they made not only the dragoons to tremble so that they could hardly keep their armes in their hands, but likewise retreat in great disorder, for which the commander of the party was cashiered by the councill; and indeed Bishop Sharp was ane angry man. The same happened likewayes at a field conventicle near Dumbarton, where a company of foot coming to dissolve a conventicle, they were so stoutly opposed by a company of Highlanders, who did no more but drew out from the conventicle and presented their pieces to the souldiers, which made them all run, and this was the end of a bloodless battle. Yet all this winter and spring was pretty quiet, and alwayes till midsummer, when Lauderdale and his lady came down to Scotland; and it was thought they made the journey upon her account, for she hade two daughters by her first husband, Sir Lionel Talmash, and for these she thought she might make a better mercat in Scotland than in England; one of them she intended to have matched to the Lord Murray, the heir of the Marquesse of Athol, my ladies' chief, whom she hade so much engadged; but that proposal was rejected, which made her turn her friendship into hatred and threatnings. However, one daughter she married to Argyle's heir, (which was a most unhappy marriage,*) and another to the Earle of Murray, and so she gott her

* Kirkton's assertion respecting the unhappiness of this marriage, is confirmed by a letter from the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Argyle, to Mr Carstairs, the intriguing Scottish priest, and favourite of the Prince of Orange.—"As to what you say in relation to myself, and my own particular behaviour, I take it very kindly of you. I know it is the effect of your friendship and concern in my person, besides my family. I do assure you, my carriage shall be such as I shall give no just cause of scandal or offence;

bussiness done in her noble manner. As for the publict, the conventicles multiplied, the lawes in a manner were useless; the councill cited never a minister, for never one would appear; if they hade, it was now the fashion to lay them, not in the tolbooth, but in the Basse, and thither all they catcht were sent. After this time a great part of the nation wholly disowned the episcopal church and clergy; therefore Lauderdale must doe something to promote the king's darling design. So upon August 2, 1677, a severe proclamation is

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though I know some makes it their business so much to render me criminal, and at least censurable, even where is the least ground, that, whilst I am burdened with the error of the first concoction, I need scarce hope to be free of censure; should I lock myself up in a cage, daily they will be hatching something. There is one thing I know will be clamoured against, that I have sent my two daughters home to Rosneath, designing to take the charge of them myself; my reasons for so doing are, since they are mine, and I am bound to provide for them, none can blame. I wish and endeavour that they be bred up with all duty and love to me, as their father; which I cannot expect in the circumstances they have been in hitherto, living with a mother in those terms with me, and who never in her life showed them either the example of good nature, or duty to their parents; and who always carries herself to her children to an extream on one side or t'other, by too much fondness, or too much severity. They are coming up to an age in which its presumable they will receive impressions; and I have not forgot the Latin, '*Quo semel est imbuta*,' &c. But above all, my chief reason is, she having had lately the charge of her sister Doun's daughter, some years older than any of mine, she did encourage her in things I would not for all the world be guilty of, wher a parent especially, which was to encourage her to wriet little billet-dues and letters to Carnwath, Sir George Lockhart's son and heir; and by the company she kept by her example, as the Countess of Forfar, Nanny Murray, &c. she had like to a been quite ruined; and came to that length of impudence, that, dancing with Carnwath in the dancing-school, she squeezed his hand; all which the youth told, and the girl was sent for home. As you are my undoubted friend, I give you the trouble of all this, though I hope the envious world themselves must acknowledge a father can dispose of his children."—*Edinburgh*, 30 *March*, 1696.

This Duke of Argyle, though he pretends to so strict a sense of propriety in his letter to Carstairs, did not practice much of what he professed; he died on the 25th

emitted by the councill, by which they require all heritors, wadsetters, life-renters, to engadge by bond, not only for themselves and families, but for all those that lived under them, that none of them shall keep or hear any conventicle, or employ any outted minister for baptisme, and that under the highest penalties appointed by former laws, (which are there repeated). Also the forme of the bond is annexed to the proclamation, to the same purpose; and this proclamation occasioned afterward a great deall of heavy trouble. But notwithstanding the bond which was to be pressed upon the countrey, Lauderdale was very frequent in his discourses about a 3d indulgence, and many addresses there were made to him for that purpose. Severall had promises of favour who were among the greatest sufferers, particularly these who were intercommuned and prisoners in the Basse, and when all was done the expectation ended in just no-

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Sept. 1703, of bruises received in a brothel.—The following paragraph is extracted from a newspaper, dated Sept. 1810.—"On Monday se'nnight, the remains of a human skeleton were dug up on the bank side, near the southern end of Stephenson Street, North Shields; an old house was lately pulled down near the spot, to enlarge the street, and within a few yards of its site the bones were discovered. A few years ago another skeleton was dug up near the same place; it is believed this was the old house wherein, in 1703, the Duke of Argyle, then resident at Chirton, received so many bruises and wounds in a night brawl, as to occasion his death shortly after; it was occupied by Paphian nymphs, and often resorted to by the noble profligate."—In a collection of MS. lampoons, in the editor's possession, are "Lynes on the Duke of Argyle, that died in his w—e's arms in England, 28 Sept. 1703,"—of which this is the commencement:

"Pluto did frown, but Proserpine did smile
Att hell, to hear the knocks of old Argyle.
Pluto cried out, Let no gates opened be,
If he come heir he'll surelie cuckold me.
To which the queen replied, with sighs and groans,
No fear, my liedge," &c. &c.

thing.* The bishops stickled so much in it, Lauderdale told the presbyterians, he behooved to be at London before any thing was

* "October 1677.—Whence all this favour came to the non-conformists seemed strange to some; it was a politique of my Lord Duke of Lauderdale and his duchesse to render himselfe gracious and acceptable to the hearts of the people, and regain his lost credit, which undoubtedly was likewayes a cause that made him listen and give ear to ane indulgence and accomodation with the presbyterians, for he was serious in it, and did it not meerly to cajoll or gull them; the carriers on of it were the president, Argyle, Melvill, and Arniston, with James Stewart and the ministers of that party, who were allowed freely to come to Edinburgh; they offered to raise L.15000 sterling presently for my Lord Lauderdale's service, and to contrive the elections so that in a parliament he should carrie a subsidy, and the president gett a ratification of what he pleased, providing their indulgence ware secured to them by act of parliament, so that it might not be nixt day recalled. All thir propositions my Lord Lauderdale greedily imbraced; but when they came to explain the way how they would effectuat all this, he could not comprehend it so weell, wheirupon it stood. The bishops, on the other hand, finding this to strike at the very vitalls of their occupation, and Diana's shrynes, they to counterbalance, resolve to ply, and bid as fair as they are able, to get his majesties' supremacy in spirituall matters so qualified that the king may give way to erect a court of hy commission again, in which they may act by themselfs against all recusants. It is like, if this ware granted them, it might prove a very ready means to break their neck.

"At last my Lord Lauderdale at the secret council, on the 9th of Oct., publictly disouned that ever their had been a treaty or capitulation between him and the non-conformists, leist the rumour thereof might prejudge him in the affections of the English clergy; and it was reported that the Archbishop of St Andrews had writ of it to Canterbury, and Morley Bishop of Winchester, and they had applied to his majestie, who wrote peremptorly to my Lord Lauderdale to desist. However, he ceast not to doe favours to private persons of that party, as we have instanc't already, in relieving their persons or fynes. At this time also, one McKilichan, a minister in the Basse, was liberat, but confined to the Isle of Skie, or Isla; and another called Mr William Hog, was confined to Kintyre; some hardly lookt upon thir transportations as any curtesie; however, they will have occasion to plant the gospell in those barbarous places, which is more meritorious than to labour in their ministry heir, where there is eneugh already."—*Lord* FOUNTAINHALL'S *MS.*

done in that affair. But when the alarme of this bond came to the west countrey, it caused great thoughts of heart, that men should be bound for these they could not command, was to oblidge men to impossibilities. No councellor could or durst engadge for his own family; how can the countrey gentlemen, whose power is much weaker, engadge for a desperate multitude? Upon this occasion the noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors, in the shire of Air, mett together at Air, and choised the Earle of Loudon president. Then after they had considered the affair, they agreed to write to the councill, and thereby to excuse themselves for refusing the bond which they could not keep, offering likewayes a more proper expedient for settling the peace of the country, and that was, that the king would be pleased to enlarge the indulgence. This gave the councill high displeasure, and this began the sad character which Loudon wore to his death, and forced him to his voluntary exile afterwards, in which he ended his dayes at Leiden.* The bond found no better

* This Earl of Loudon was the son of the Chancellor Loudon, a creature of the Marquis of Argyle, by whom, and by his marriage with the heiress of Loudon, he was promoted to public trusts that he betrayed, and dignities of which he was but little deserving. His lady ruled him with an imperious sway, having it in her power, through his conjugal infidelities, to divorce him at pleasure. This countess was ever a staunch covenanter, though she sometimes found it convenient to dissemble. Bishop Guthrie tells us, "that after the battle of Kilsyth, the Marquis of Montrose sent Macdonald, with a party, to the west, to frighten them that had not come to express their submission, and to him all did homage; and no where found he so hearty a welcome as at Loudon Castle, where the chancellor's lady embraced him in her arms, and having treated him very sumptuously, sent afterwards her servant, John Haldane, with him, to present her service to the Marquis of Montrose."—The second earl succeeded to his father's titles and political principles, but seems also to have inherited the cautious temper of his mother. After the skirmish at Drumclog, he received some of the rebels into his house, but took care not to appear publicly among them. Robert Smith, in his Information printed in the Appendix to the Bishop of Rochester's Account of the

reception in Clidesdale, where there was a great meeting of heritors at Hamilton; and the Duke of Hamilton being at this time highly displeased with the proceedings of the councill, and a great enemy to the bond, knowing well he could not answer for his own family, the bond was rejected even by them who were of no principle but

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horrid Conspiracy, &c. declares, "the same night after that skirmish, I was at the Earl of Lowdon's house, with Robert Hamilton, John Balfour, and David Haxton, (both murderers of the late Archbishop of St Andrews,) John Ker in Minebole, and several others, in number about twenty-seven horse. The earl himself was in the house, and I saw him pass into the garden; but I did not perceive that he came into our company, though I have reason to believe that Robert Hamilton was with his lordship and his lady in some of the chambers, because I saw him leaving us all of his company in the great hall, and going into the private rooms, where I am sure was my lady, as I do not doubt but my lord was also, for it was from thence that I saw him pass into the garden: but my lady did publickly that night entertain and lodge all the company." The lady alluded to, whose zeal could make her act the hostess to a crew of rebels and murderers, was a daughter of the Earl of Eglintoune. But though so piously given, she seems to have deeply offended one martyr of her own sect, John Nisbet of Hardhill, who makes a figure in Wodrow's History, and other chronicles of the like nature, *having a sweetness in his last sufferings*, when hanged in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, (1685,) for his accession to the rebellions of Pentland, Bothwell Bridge, &c. On the day of his death he wrote the following letter to the Countess of Loudon, which is preserved among the Wodrow MSS.

"Now, noble ladie, being within ane howre or two at the most to eternitie, and knowing soe much of your ladieship's crewalltie to me and myne, and to others alsoe whom I need not now name, I owt of respect to your ladieship's immortall sowll's weill being, earnestlie desyres and requeists your ladieship to forbeire such courses as ye have formerlie followed, or the howse of Lowdone shall be as voyd of the name of Cambells as the Hardhill is now of Nisbets; your ladieshipe may posablie startle at my fredome, bot now when I am within ane howre or two at the most of eternitie, I tell you this out of the respect that I have to the house of Loudon. O beware and turne from thes courses, and turne to the Lord with all your heart and soull, or as the Lord lives he shall root owt you and yours root and breanch. Yea, tho' ye and yours were as

to save their estate. But the letter from Air, together with the increase and boldness of the conventicles, put our governours upon new resolutions. They perceived the obstinacy of the west rooted in their conscience would prove incureable; the same they found in many other places of the countrey in proportion. And amongst all the conventicles at this time, two were most noticed; one was

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the signet on his right hand, &c. he shall cast you and them out, without reall repentance; and for all that ye have done to me and myne, first or last, I freelie forgive you; I have met with some of your ladieship's childreine, which was no small refreshment to me to find that they had any thing of gifts or seeming grace, bot be ye tender of them, and doe not force them to any thing they are not cleire to doe; it will be verie sad for your ladieship to have your childreine to curse yow. Tho' I allwayes esteemed of Mr A. S. as a mane of knowledge and understanding, yet I was alwayes persuaded he was brought to the parrich of Lowdone for a snaire to it, bot especiallie for a snaire to the howse of Lowdone; it's my sowll's desyre, ye and many might get your sowll for a pray.

" JOHN NISBET.

Nisbet's examination before the council, written by himself, is well worthy of perusal, as it affords a striking example of the bigotted simplicity which characterized his sect, and so frequently exasperated the temper of the opposite party. He would not acknowledge the Duke of York to be king because he was a Roman Catholic. " They asked him next, if he, and such as he joyned with, were clear to joyn with Argyle? No more, answered he, than with you. Another asked, if they would have joyned Monmouth? He answered, No. Said another, in banter, it seems they will have no king but Mr Renwick, and asked if he conversed with any other ministers than Mr Renwick? John answered, he did not." He concludes, " This is what past that was material. As to drinking of healths, never one of them spoke one word to me, east or west. As to praying for their king, one of them said he knew I was that much of a Christian that I would pray for all men. I told them, I reckoned myself bound to pray for all; but prayer being institute by a holy God, who was the hearer of prayer, no Christian was obliged to prayer, when every profligate commanded them; and it was of no advantage to their cause, when they suffered such a thing."

at Erkfurd, in Teviotdale, where there were many thousands; another at Girvin, in the west, where Mr Welsh celebrated the communion in the fields among many thousands, and no small number of armed men. The multitudes animated the poor common people, and truely they hade no more respect to the laws than they believed there was equity in them. The councill sett a high price upon Mr Welsh his head, and for that he never rode without a guard of horsemen, sometimes more, sometimes less, but seldom exceeding the number of ten horsemen. Another accident at this time helped to inflame the displeasure of our governours, and that was this: Captain Carstaires was at that time very bussie in the east end of Fyffe; the Lady Colvill he chased out of her own house, and by constraining her to ly upon the mountains broke the poor ladie's health; William Sherthumb he laid in prison, but the doores were opened and he sett free. But the poor people of that countrey who were conventiclers knew not what to doe; so some dozen of them mett at Kinloch, the house of John Balfour, a bold man, who was himself present, and with him Alexander Hamilton of Kincaill, a most irreconcileable enemy to the bishops; also Robert Hamilton, younger son to Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston,* a man who had

* His father's name was Thomas, not Robert. Sir Robert Hamilton, by his first wife, Anne, second daughter of his cousin Sir James Hamilton of Preston, had two sons, William and Robert. By his second wife, Rachel, sister of Bishop Burnet, and widow of Sir Thomas Nicholson of Cockburnspath, king's advocate, he had no issue. He died in 1672. Burnet, speaking of the Covenanters in 1679, says, "The person that led them had been bred by me when I lived at Glasgow, being the younger son of Sir Thomas Hamilton, who had married my sister, but by a former wife: he was then a lively hopeful young man, but getting into that company, and into their notions, he became a crack-brained enthusiast." *Vol I. p.* 471. Swift, or Captain Creichton, describes Hamilton, of the loyal house of Preston, as a *profligate*, who had spent all his patrimony.

very latly changed his character, and of a loose youth became a high-strained zealot; but a man he was who made a great deall more noise than ever he did bussiness; and some countrey men more. Of these Carstaires gets intelligence, and so comes upon them very boldly with his party of some 8 or 9 horses; among whom Philip Garret, a desperate English tinker, was chief. Garret alights, and perceiving a man standing in the door of the house, fires upon him, but misses him; upon which one out of the chamber fires upon Garret, being at that time in the court of the house; the shot pierced Garret's shoulder, and made him fall. Carstaires fired in at another door, and pierced the leg of a man in the house; but upon this all within horsed and chased Carstaires and his party, tho' no more blood was shed, only Kincaill's horse was shott, and Garret received some more blows with a sword, but his life was spared. This action, upon Carstaires' information, was reckoned resistance and rebellion. All present, because they appeared not when called, were denunced rebells, and some who were not present were denunced with the rest, as it was very frequently done; but this was charged upon the whole party. Also about this time Sir John Nisbit, because he refused to lend the Lady Lauderdale money, was turned out of his place, and Sir George M'Kenzie placed king's advocate in his roome. This man was thought fitt for the state's design, and was a man that inclined more to serve than moderate the resolutions of the state.

But now at length our governours and politicians began to discover the lock into which they were brought betwixt the peremptory establishment of episcopal government, which was the king's pleasure, and the absolute aversion of the dissenters on the other hand, which was the people's conscience. Their principles were the same they hade been at first; and now inflamed by the irritations of their sufferings, their professions were every day more bold, their conventicles multiplied, the number of the field-preachers increast

as the states multiplied outlaws; not only were our laws disdained, but the forces opposed and affronted; and indeed the government was but owned by a part of the people. Now the question is, What remedy? either they most slacken episcopacy, or destroy the people, as they conceive, for a temper they cannot find. It is at last resolved upon the last, they will destroy them they cannot govern, and they will cutt off the limb they cannot heal. But because this was so ugly a design, they most varnish it with a colour, and this is that of which they make choice: They resolve to bring down ane army of barbarous Highlanders upon the west countrey, and quarter them there till the people of the countrey were cleared to take the bond. Then our state hoped either they should subdue their consciences, or perhaps, by the oppression of the Highlanders, turn wise men mad, and drive the people into some tumult, insurrection, or warre, and then the king should have a fair quarrell to extirpate them, and turn their countrey into a hunting forrest, according to the Duke of York's wish, as was reported. It is well known there is more people in one county in the west than in other three elsewhere; but the number of poor innocent people is not ane argument to be laid in the ballance with the king's pleasure. The west countrey was the head-quarter of the fanaticks so much abhorred by the king, and therefore it was thought better the countrey should be laid waste than inhabited by such wretches. And now, in order to the furthering this good work, first the king writes down a letter to the councill, wherein he earnestly requires them by any means to suppresse and destroy conventicles, and settle the countrey by their rules; and if they be not of force enough, he offers them the assistance of his English armies to be sent down to them. Now, tho' ye may believe this letter of the king's was of their own procurement, yet the councill made it the spring of all that was done afterward; thereupon the councill leavy and modell

ane army, which was known in Scotland by the name of the Highland Host, commanding and requireing the Marquies of Athol, Earles of Murray, Kaithnes, Perth, Strathmore, and Airly, to gather what power of men they could, and Lithgow with his regiment to joyn them, and streight to march to the west countrey upon free quarter if once they were passed Stirling Bridge, giving to this army full power and commission to disarm the people of the west countrey, to take from them their horses, to put garrisons in such places as they thought fitt; sending with them a court of justiciary, before whom they might conveen any man in the countrey, that there they might be punished, promising them indemnity for any thing should be done this way; requireing the people of these countreys to take the bond when they should be required. And this was the substance of the commission, bearing date Dec. 16, 1677. The Marquess of Huntley is appointed to keep the north quiet, and preserve the Highlanders' houses and families while they are about their master's bussiness in the west countrey. But before the Highlanders made the attempt upon the west countrey, our councill thought fitt to season Scotland with one example of severity more, and that was Mitchell's death; him they brought from the Bass before Sir Archibald Primrose, at that time justice-generall; for the Lady Lauderdale, finding the register's place one of the most lucrative places within the kingdome, hade thought good to remove him from the office of register, and put Sir Thomas Murray, a friend of her own, in the office; and he hade indeed the name of the office, but she hade from him the profits of the place, he being only register nominal; but to stop Sir Archibald's mouth, they bestowed upon him the office of justice-generall, and sore against his heart. However, Mitchell is brought before him, and accused of his unsuccessfull attempt to kill Bishop Sharp. This lybell is proven by his own judicial confession; but because it was

answered he confessed only upon promise of life, which promise was turned into ane act and recorded in the clerk's book, the grandees who hade promised him his life are brought before the justice, and there make faith (contrare to the sense of all Scotland) that they never hade promised any such thing; upon which he was condemned to be hanged in the Grassmercate, which sentence was accordingly execute. Sir Archibald boasted to his friends, that if Lauderdale made him losse his place, he hade the pleasure to see him losse his soul by perjury; however, the sentence held good. Two dayes after the sentence was pronunced by the justice, Bishop Sharp procured a more severe sentence from court to be execute upon him, and that was, that his head and hand might be fixed on the city gates; but because this sentence came after the legal sentence was pronunced, the bishop mist the pleasure of his revenge. Mitchell died avowing the act, and also justifying it, and there was ane end of his tragedy.*

* "7, 8, 9, and 10 days of Januar, 1678, Mr James Mitchel was upon the pannell at the criminal court for shutting at the Archbishop of St Andrews. He was sentencet on the 10, and was hang'd on the 18 of Januar thereafter. The law that reached his life was the 4 act of the Parl: 1600, against invading and pershuing of councellors, tho' it was only made *ad terrorem*, and in dissuetude, and never practised as to the pain of death; for otherwayes, *Conatus sine effectu consummato nunquam punitur capitaliter*. There was much debate anent the way of proving the qualification of the said act of Par: that the archbishop was invaded for doing his majesties service, for that being *animi* can only be spelled out by presumptions. Mr John Wans, in his oath, was more positive than any other for proving this; for he declared, that having asked Mr M. how he could adventure in cold blood to assassinat a man, especially a churchman, and on who had never wronged him, he answered, 'And call you that cold blood, when the blood of the saints (meaning those execute in 1667 for the rebellion 1666) is yet reeking hot at the croce of Edin.?' The justices found it was not eneugh to prove the assaulting a privy councellor, but the qualification of the act of Par: behooved likewayes to be proven. As to the demembration of the Bishop of Orkney, it

And now the Highland Host (as it was called) appear upon the stage. The west countrey men must be tempted by a sharp tentation, to see if possibly their despair in resistance might excuse their

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was alledged the 28 act, Ja. 4. anno 1491, makes it not capitall. The advocate, Sir G. M'Kenzie, at last declared he past *pro loco et tempore* from the demembration, in so far as it might import *ultimum supplicium*; then alledged, he was not guilty of *assassinium*, because Carpsovius, in his *Praxis Criminalis Saxonica*, shews that crime is only committed by on who is hyred with money to kill another; then he denied the fact, as also his former confession, as also revocked it as extrajudiciall, not being made before the judge competent, viz. a quorum of the justices and the assize, but only before some councellors, and so it was not binding, but null, and cited Bossius his *Practica Criminalis*, Julius Clarus, and Ant: Matthaeus in ther Criminalls, and the advocat's oune book of criminall law. The lords of the justiciary found the confession, being emitted before the Duke of Lauderdale, being then the king's commissioner, and the committee of the council, was judiciall, and that it could not be retracted by him. Then alledged, it was a confession elicit by torture, and so revokable. This was repelled, because when he confesset there was nather torture nor threats adhibit. Then he founded on a promise of his life. This the advocat debated against as not relevant, and cited Ægidius Bossius, who, *titulo de examin: reorum*, 15 and 16, sayes, *Judex qui induxit reum ad confitendum sub promissione veniæ non tenetur servare promissum in foro contentioso*, which seems to be ane disingenous opinion. The lords sustained the promise of life relevant. Then the witnesses ware examined, the greatest that ever appeared in a criminall cause with us. The Duke of Lauderdale, the Chancelor, the Archbishop of St Andrews, Bishop of Galloway, Haltoun, Sir John Nisbet, (but he was not examined,) they declared they hard him confesse, and denied they knew any thing of the promise and assurance given him for his life. The pannell entreated the chancellor to remember the honour of the family of Rothes, and to mind that he took him by the hand, and said, 'Jacobe man, confesse, and as I am chancellor of Scotland, ye shall be safe in liffe and limb.' All the chancellor returned was, that he hoped his reputation was not yet so low as that what the pannell said ather their or elsewhere would be credited, since he had sworne. The pannell still averred the contraire. The archbishop on oath likewayes denies any promise of life, saying it was not in his power to grant remissions. Nicoll Somervell the agent, brother-in-law to the pannell, boldly contradicted him, and bid him remember such and such tymes and words, and seem-

much-desired destruction. They rendivouze at Stirling, June 24, 1678, to the number of 8000 men, with the northern lords, collonells, and lairds their captains. After they past Stirling they car-

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ed to make his narration very probable. The archbishop fell in a mighty chaff and passion, exceedingly unbecoming his station and the circumstances he was then stated in, and fell a scolding before thousands of onlookers. Nicoll yielded in nothing; and after the bishop had sworne, he cryed out that upon his salvation what he had affirmed was true; which was to accuse the archbishop of downright perjurie; but it was overlooked because *justo dolori temperare non poterat*, and the misfortune was, that few there but they believed Nicoll better than the archbishop.

" Then Sir George Lockhart and Mr John Elies, advocats for the pannell, produced ane act of secret councell, bearing, that they revocked the assurance of life given him, because of his disingenuity. This the Duke of Lauderdale stormed at, and told he came in obedience to a citation upon his majesties letters of exculpation to depone, but not to be staged for perjurie. The justices repelled the said act as not probative, and because not produced *debito tempore* before the said noble witnesses ware sworne, and because it was clearly redargued and convelled by the depositions of the privy councellors denying the same. Yet the principal was written by Hew Stevensone, margined and interlined in sundry places by Sir John Nisbet, then king's advocat, and they abstracted the books and would not produce them, at *magis credendum clerico in actibus officii, quam judici;* and it choaked the principles of both criminall law and equity to say it was to late, for *nunquam in criminalibus concluditur contra reum* any time before the enclosing the assize.

" (For proving and instructing his confession, which he denied, they adduced the privy councellors as witnesses before whom he emitted the same; which may be questioned if it be a regular probation, yea or no, to prove a confession by witnesses, but heir it was in fortification of the written one.)

" And it was thought strange they startled so at it, since they saw it and heard it before they came their; and it struck many with no small amazement to see that act denyed by the chancellor and others, for it's generally yet believed there was truely such a thing, and it was freely talkt that if such tripping had fallen among mean persons, it would have been highly censured. And thus they hunted this poor man to death, a prey not worthy of so much pains, trouble, and obloquie as they incurred by it, and some of their oune friends and well-wishers desired they had never dipt in

ried as if they hade been in ane enemies countrey, living upon free quarter where ever they came. They spread themselves throughh the whole counties of Clidesdale, Renfrew, Cunninghame, Kyle,

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it, but only keept him in perpetuall imprisonment, for it made a wonderfull noice in the country, who generally believed the law was streatched, and they feared preparatives; and satyres and bitter verses immediatly flew abroad like hornets in great swarmes, which were caressed and pleasantly receaved, speaking much acrimony and ane almost universall discontent. Sir G. Lockhart defended him with admirable strength of reason and expression, but he would not communicat councells with Mr Elies, tho' comanded to it by the lords, and some thought his late producing that act of secret councell was ane oversight, others judged it a desyne to entrap the duke and the other witnesses, and to reflect on them. The debate in the adjournall books weill deserves reading; for it was on of the most solemne criminall trialls had been in Scotland thesse 100 years. Halton deponed, that he confessed to him he lurked that night after he had shott the pistoll in Sir A. Primrose's (then register) his yaird, with on Canon of Mandrogat and others. He was but a simple melancholy man, and ounes the fact in the papers he left behind him as ane impulse of the spirit of God, and justifies it from Phineas killing Cosbi and Zimri, and from that law Deutero: commanding to kill false prophets that seduced the people from the true God. This is a dangerous principle, and asserted by no sober presbyterian. On the scaffold they beat drums when he began to touch the chancellor. They say Major Jonston undertook to stob him if he had attempted ane escape, or any had offered to rescue him. The secret councell would have given him ane reprivall, if the archbishop would have but consented——it was judged ane argument of a bad deplorat cause that they summoned and picked out ane assyse of souldiers under the king's pay, and others who, as they imagined, would be clear to condemne him. Doctor Irving and John Jossie ware most unwilling to depone upon oath on the quality of the wound, alledging a priviledge or exception to their profession; but they ware not dispenced with, and it's like they had been imprisoned if they had absolutely refused. If he did not shot the pistoll, yet he deserved death (as Mr Hicks suggested to the king's advocat) because he boasted he was the doer of it, and that by David's decision, 2 Samuell, chapter 1. v. 16."—FOUNTAINHALL's *MSS. vol.* 1.

Mitchell, after his attempt upon the archbishop, was greatly caressed by his party, and when he took a wife, who sold tobacco and brandy, Mr John Welsh himself per-

Carrick; Galloway they did not reach. They execute their commission exactly; they disarmed the whole countrey once more, they unhorsed the gentry, they constitute their committees, and

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formed the marriage ceremony. "He was a lean hollow cheeked man, of a truculent countenance, and had the air of an assassin as much as a man could have. He came with his periwig powder'd to the bar." *Ravillac Redivivus.*—In a letter written after his sentence, he left "his testimony against and abhorrence of balls, bordelles, mountebanks, acts of comedies, festival days, viz. at Yule and Pentecost, which are all the product of a profane and perfidious clergy: all of them being instigated by Satan, as fitted instruments for exciting and stirring up of lust to this apostat and rebellious generation against God, his truth, covenant, and people, and cause." *Napthali.*—One is astonished to find a person of Mitchell's profession and purity use such an expression as this. "I was the space of nine or ten weeks, as I thought, in a heavenly life, but *doleful was the after-clap*, that came ere all was done."—Of the satires and bitter verses that Fountainhall mentions as flying about after his condemnation, one is still extant in MS., and printed here, merely as a specimen of the mean poetry for which party spirit and spleen will find admirers. The annotations in the margin are given exactly as they are arranged in the original.

Mitchell that designed to murder Dr Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, his Ghost, 1678.

"And are you, mighty men, come out indeed
To kill a flie, or break a bruised reed?
The chiefest churchmen, statesmen, laweers too,
Contriv'd to act, in law which cannot doe.
It seems your French trade, sir, (*a*) is at a stance, (*a*) Duke Lauderdale.
Pray, doe not cheat the honest King of France;
Or does the king misdout Achitophell,
When he's come down, you'll see, to hang himsell?
He lately tript, and now must make amends,
He has drawn blood, and slain a louse, God sain's!—
A sacrifice to please my Lord of London, (*b*) (*b*) Bishop of London.
Indeed a laimer sure could not be found one.

before them they cited the whole heritors; and tho' many took their Highland bond, (as it was called,) yet the body of the gentry refused it, being well encouraged to this constancy by the resolution of the greatest within the countrey, Duke Hamilton, Loudon, Cochrane; but especially my Lord Cassills his constancy was much noticed, who, tho' he was urged by the committee in the west, and tho' his cause was transported to the secret councill at Edinburgh, yet still held out to the last; and it was observed at that time, that the heritors who hade taken the Highland bond, and their tennants,

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But now it's said be many, and made good
My ladie's given to flesh, (*c*) my lord to blood.
In the old cause your father led the van, (*d*)
But you bring up the rear with Lady Ann; (*e*)
Ane loyall subject, and a true, God wott,
And trades his master's footsteps every jott.
Oh! the brave Primate, and his lying brother;
A lovely pair, (*f*) pray shew me such another!
Who trusts their word without their write is wise,
Deserves he not ane Mitchelin assize?
That crooked Vulcan (*g*) will the bellows blow
Till he'll set all on fire, and then he'll goe
A packing to his Highland hills to hide him,
And loves not Mars, (*h*) for Venus' sake, beside him,
Because through ways unworthy and unjust,
Betrayes the just, and murders under trust.
Two atheists swore, (*i*) advis'dly did they so?—
Yes, and the rest at randome—O brave show!
They have consulted sure the advocat,
The owtted laweers says he's good at that:
Of witnesses, assizers, and of judges,
For swearing, w——g, and base subterfuges,
Of such ane hellish crew let Mitchell rest,
Of all the pack (bad as he was) the best."

(*c*) Dutchess Lauderdale.

(*d*) Chancellor Rothes.

(*e*) Lady Ann, sister to the Duke of Gordon, whom he led through the cuntrie in men's clothes.

(*f*) Dr Sharp, and his brother Sir William.

(*g*) Sir Geo. Mackenzie, the king's advocat, and honour of his nation.

(*h*) By Mars is meaned the Vis. Dundie, who wes thought to be too familiar with his lady.

(*i*) Dr Irvine, and Samuel Weslie, apothecar.

suffered as much as they that refused it, for that sort of cattell who were their executioners were not inured to a rule. Many of these lords in the west offered the states a sort of security which they called a Ratihabition, which some thought went a very great length, yet it was not accepted; so the states and the west countrey agreed not at that time. As for the oppressions, exactions, injuries, and cruelties committed by the Highlanders among the poor people of the west countrey, it is a bussiness above my reach to describe; there is a whole book written upon that subject, wherein the list is more particular and full than ever my information could reach; and a thinking man may apprehend what a company of barbarous Highlanders would doe, when they were sent upon design to turn the innocent people of the west countrey mad by their oppressions, in which office indeed you may believe they were very faithfull; yet when, after a few weeks experience, our governours perceived the west countrey would not rise in armes (as was hoped), but would continue patient under their tyrrany, they began to be ashamed they hade chosen ane expedient both ineffectual and odious to the world's end, as it was unparalell'd in the history of the world from the beginning.

So after the Highlanders hade to the outmost tempted the patience of these poor people, tho' the devouring souldiers wearied not, our councill thought good to conclude this cruell expedition; and therefore, in the end of February, they sent home the Highlanders, but continued the low countrey men till Aprile 24, when Lithgow, the commander-in-chief, hade orders to dismiss them all, and so he did. But when this goodly army retreated homeward, you would have thought by their baggage they hade been at the sack of a besieged city; and therefore, when they passed Stirling Bridge, every man drew his sword to shew the world they hade returned conquerors from their enemies land, but they might as

well have showen the pots, pans, girdles, shoes taken off countrey men's feet, and other bodily and household furniture with which they were loadened; and among them all none purchast so well as the two Earles Airly and Strathmore, chiefly the last, who sent home the money, not in purses, but in baggs and great quantities. Yet under all this oppression the poor people bare all; only in Kampsey there was one of the plunderers killed by a countrey man, who yet escaped punishment.*

Nevertheless the resentment our rulers hade entertained against the great men in the west for refuseing the bond continued, and to it they imputed the obstinacy of the people in the countrey encouraged by their example. This brought our rulers upon thoughts of pursueing these great men with more severity. Upon the other side, the barbarities in the government, and fears of more danger, leaven'd strangely the spirits not only of the poor whiggs, but of all indifferent spectators, especially these gentlemen who hade helped well to establish bishops, and taken the declaration, and this made them once to resolve to try what grace they might find in the king's eyes, foreasmuch as they believed firmly they had approven themselves loyal subjects, the only saving grace required in these times. So a number of noblemen (to the number of sixteen) made a journey to London, among whom D. Hamilton was chief; and severall who were not at all concern'd in the Highland host, such as Roxburgh and Haddington, yea, some that hade been named officers in the Highland host, such as Atholl and Perth, will needs bear the rest company, to represent to the king the miseries of Scotland. Fourty gentlemen of the best quality in the south and west attended this company, and upon the same design;

* It is most remarkable, that not one whig lost his life during the invasion of these Highland crusaders.

and this raised the expectation of some of the poor opprest people of Scotland. When Atholl and Perth were upon their journey, they took their way through Annandale towards Carlyle, and with a very small retinue; one night they wandered out of the way, and could not find so much as a cottage for a shelter; occasionally they fell upon two countrey women, who suspected their design, tho' they knew not their quality. The poor women, for the affection they bare to all that travelled that journey, at the noblemen's request conveyed them for some part of the night to a poor cottage, where, tho' the noblemen could not find a bed, yet they hade the best entertainment the poor people could give them, with many informations and requests. The noblemen professed they feared much their horses should be stollen, because they could not get them within a locked door; but the poor countrey people told them they needed not, for there was now no theeving in the countrey since the field preachings came among them; and of much other reformation they talked, to the noblemen's great admiration for the time; but it brought furth but small fruit.* However, to London all the company came safe enough, and together at one

* This reformation of the Annandale thieves, which Wodrow has recorded from Kirkton, is not very probable, though the whig preachers, from their doctrine of insubordination and wandering lawless lives, were calculated to make friends among these *minions of the moon;* whose new habits of honesty, at all events, were not of long duration. The preacher Cameron was one of the first missionaries to Annandale. "He said, 'How can I go there? I know what sort of people they are;' but Mr Welch said, 'Go your way, Ritchie, and set the fire of hell to their tails.' He went; and the first day he preached upon that text, *How shall I put thee among the children?* &c. In the application he said, 'Put you among the children! the offspring of thieves and robbers! we have all heard of Annandale thieves.' Some of them got a merciful cast that day, and told afterwards, that it was the first field-meeting they ever attended, and that they went out of meer curiosity, to see a minister preach in a tent and people sit on the ground."—*Life of* RICHARD CAMERON.

time; but all this travel was in vain; few of them got access to the king, and when they got it, it was to no purpose. When D. Hamilton got into the presence, the king kept his hands behind his back, lest the duke should perchance snatch a kiss of them; and when the duke came to make his complaint upon the bad government in Scotland, the king answered him with taunts, and bid him help what was amiss when he were King of Scotland, and this was all; only some of our lords and gentry made acquaintance with the English dissenters, which stuck with them while they lived. And last of all, the king wrote down a letter to his councill, wherein he approved and highly commended their government and conduct, (notwithstanding the complaints of a great part of the kingdome,) reflecting strongly upon the dissatisfied complainers; and so ended this as well as former tragedies.

In the beginning of May the king wrote down to the councill to call a convention of estates, which accordingly mett in Julÿ, and made but one act, which was indeed enough for the distempers of the poor countrey. In this act, first, they represent the miserable disorders of the countrey, which they father upon the frequency of the field conventicles; then for remedy they provide the paying of ane army, and for that cause impose upon the poor countrey eightein hundered thousand pound Scots, and thereafter appoint the rigorous way to collect the money, and so conclude the act and session. This one act was the saddest stumbling block that ever was laid before the covenant-keepers in Scotland; for it divided them who were already disjoynted, and that most lamentably. Some argued to pay this assessment was just to own and concurre with the persecutors in the persecution, and if they destroyed the people of God, it was all one whether it were with their sword or their money; for all who payed the money leavied the warre against the poor conventicles. The example of Marcus Arethusius, the Arrian bishop, was

much cited, who, after in his rashnes he had demolished ane idol temple, choised martyrdome rather than to re-edify it. And truely many of the ministers were so hot upon this argument, it was ordinary for people to write upon a piece of paper, and give it in to the minister even in the midst of his preaching, (as if it had been the name of some sick person to be remembred in prayer,) to remember not to forgett to preach against paying money for the army. And indeed this was the strain not only of the weakest preachers, but even of some of the most judicious and wise in the company, tho' not of all. Mr M'Vaird wrote from Holland in a strain of complaining, as if they who payed the money had denyed the faith.* Others there were who argued otherways, and that forasmuch as violence was expected and really used, it were better for the poor people of the country by giving a piece of money to preserve themselves

* M'Ward was a voluminous author. Among many smaller pieces, he wrote The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland—Earnest Contendings, and Banders disbanded. His History of the Defections of the Church of Scotland has never been published. Some idea of his ridiculous style may be formed from the following passage:—"Neither yet be hissed nor hectored into a silence, by a blaze and busk of boisterous words, and by the brags of the big confidence of any, while I see courses taken to fill up the measure of our iniquity, which have a *wiping of our mouths* for their soul and sense, as if we had done nothing amiss, in all that we have done, and left undone; at least nothing of that hateful nature, and horrid heinousness, as indispensibly, under pain of disloyalty to Christ, calls for a clear and continued testimony against the clamant wickedness thereof."—*Answer to the First Paper of Proposals for Union with the Indulged. By Mr Robert M'Ward, sometime Minister of the Gospel in Glasgow.*

It is remarkable that this alliterative ranter was lucky enough to find a poet of his own genius and religious persuasion, who, like Bottom, could move storms and condole in some measure, to write his Elegy, in King Cambyses' vein, "high, lofty, in a new stalking strain, bigger than half the rhymers i' the town again." Among the poems of William Cleland, we have "Verses made upon the death of that famous gos-

and families alive, then by ane absolute refuseall to afford the cruell collectors a pretext to destroy all, and take as much as would leavy two armies; and that because this action was not spontaneous, but compelled and forced, in such a case a man was to be excused, being rather a sufferer than ane actor. It were a great sin for a merchant to throw his cargo into the sea in fair weather, but no man will call him a self-destroyer for lightening his ship that he may save his life in the time of a storm. As for the example of Marcus Arethusius, if the people of Scotland be to imitate him, then it would be their duty to shutt their doors, and leave Scotland as soon as may be, as some poor families did; and it was alwayes the opinion of the ministers who were for delivering the money, that if they were to preach absolutly against it, they would likewayes advise the people to get them gone out of Scotland. A certain young man having preached violently against the assessment, after sermon was earnestly entreated by a poor countrey man, who told the minister he was very much against the thing, but desired earnestly the minister would shew him how he should keep it out of the collector's hand; but truely they who were for delivering the money thought it prudence to be almost silent for a little time, the

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pel minister, Mr Robert M'Waird, who died in Holland, after 18 years banishment from Scotland, his native country," which rumble thus:

> "Was it for nought that blustering sparkling rayes
> Of strange stupenduous comets, did the eyes
> Of Earth's inhabitants so long detain
> In days but lately past?—who can refrain," &c.

> "Ατρέμας πρῶτον παππάξ· κἆπειτ' ἐπάγει παπαπαππάξ.
> Χ' ὅταν χέζω, κομιδῇ βροντᾷ παπαπαππὰξ, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖναι."

ARISTOPHANIS NUBES.

clamour of the contrare party was so very high; but a few moneths discussed this question, for there was no body in Scotland but they payed the money; and so many of them did, alace! foolishly condemn themselves by building again what they had first destroyed, —a sad reproach upon a conscientious people, but this was the end of this controversy.

About this time came Doctor Oats upon the stage. He discovered to the councill of England a plot among the papists to take away the king's life. This is a historicall mystery and a controversie; that papists who use in publict bussiness to be directed by wise counsellors should contryve the destruction of a popish king, who did, tho' in a dissembled way, advance their bussiness, and a great deall more effectually than his brother, who was both more open and more hasty. The answer given was, that some papists hade not leisure to spare that they might reap the fruits in Charles his slow way, but hoped well they might in James his hasty way; for certain it is, if there be faith in humane testimony, that there was such a plot: it did appear both by witnesses and evident facts; but because this story belongs not to the bussiness of Scotland, I voluntarly omitt it. Mean time the conventicles of all sorts increased both in frequency and number, and so did also the vigorous persecution of our magistrates; and this contradiction betwixt the two leaven'd the countrey to that degree, the dissatisfaction of the people broke out into the insurrection which ended at Bothwell Bridge.

END OF KIRKTON'S HISTORY.

JAMES RUSSELL'S ACCOUNT

OF THE

MURDER

OF

ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

1679.

THE following Narrative, transcribed from the MS. collections of Wodrow, was written by one of the Archbishop's murderers, who, in the proclamation issued by the privy council after Sharp's death, is designated James Russell, in Kettle.

After the defeat at Bothwell, as he tells us himself, he retired to Holland, but returned to Scotland in the course of a few months, and in the year 1681 contrived to have a sort of protestation put up upon the door of his parish church, which was afterward printed in folio, with this title: "A true and exact Copy of a prodigious and traiterous Libel affixt upon the Church Door of Kettle in Fife, the Third of this Instant, being Easter Day; written and subscribed by James Russell, one of those bloody and sacrilegious Murtherers of the late Lord Primate of Scotland his Grace. Published by Authority, for the Satisfaction and Information of all his Majesties loyal and dutiful Subjects. Edin: printed Anno Dom: 1681."—In this paper, which is extremely verbose, Russell protests against paying of feu-duty, minister's stipend to Mr James Barkley, *a thief and a robber*, and taxes; and against his mother (to whom he had written on the subject without success,) and James Dale, who is now labouring his land at her instance, their paying the same. He styles the king "Charles Stewart, a bull of Bashan, and all his associats are bulls and keyn of Bashan. What would you judge to be your duty, if there were a wild and mad bull running up and down Scotland, killing and slaying all that were come in his way, man, wife, and bairn? Would you not think it your duty, and every one's duty, to kill him, according to that scripture, Exod: 21. 28. 29. &c.?"

From Shield's "Faithful Contendings displayed, being an Historical Relation of the State and Actings of the suffering Remnant in the Church of Scotland, who subsisted in select Societies, and were united in general Correspondencies during the hottest Time of the late Persecution, viz. from the Year 1681 to 1691," &c. much may be gleaned respecting this worthy, who was again in Scotland in 1682, where, at a general meeting of the suffering Remnant at Tala linn, in the parish of Tweedsmuir, he, being *a man of a hot and fiery spirit*, bred strange confusion in the assembly, by the strictness of his questioning as to their proceedings, and more particularly *if they*

or their society were free of paying customs at ports and bridges, which base compliance with law Russell held in abomination; "and after, made it, among others, a cause of separation from the witnessing party, by whom it was never so far stretched." They were all clear not to pay the lately imposed cess (tax) enacted for wicked ends, and employed for unlawful uses.—"As the questions were going through the members of the meeting, there was a young man of Dumbartonshire found to have joined with some that paid the cess, for which he was debarred from sitting there; as also, another was debarred, after debate, because of his marrying with Mr Alexander Peden, and joining with some that gave meat and drink to dragoons: but that which occasioned the hottest debate and greatest confusion, was about Alexander Gordon, who had joined with Mr Peden in accepting the sacrament of baptism to his child from him; whereupon the contest arose, one part of the meeting saying Mr Peden might be joined with, and the other not: so seeing the matter was under debate, and could not be there and then decided, it was thought most expedient to suspend Alexander Gordon from the meeting, until enquiry and trial be made, how it was with Mr Peden at the time, and how it was when he joined with him, that thereby it might be the better known how to proceed therein. And for this effect, James Russell promised to send one, or come himself out of Fife, and to come by Edinburgh, that one might be chosen out of Lothian to go along with him to the Monkland, where they were to get a third person to go along with them to Mr Peden; which thing James Russell failed to do, and so the enquiry and trial was not made."

At the next meeting of the Remnant, Russell gave in a paper, replete with *bitterness, untenderness and reflections;* and afterwards produced a protestation, entitled, "The Protestation of the Societies of True Presbyterians in the shire of Fife and Perth, against disorderly persons." Then followed "a paper about the names of the days of the week, and months of the year, wherein were several unsuitable and unsavoury, unchristian expressions; and so he and his comrades left them, after he had occasioned some confusion, which otherwise might not have fallen out. And after he was parted from them he was not idle; by taking trouble to himself, he created more to others; for he, and some few with him, seeking to justify what they had done, were at no small pains to inform, or rather misinform severals about the proceedings at the last and this meeting, in going through the country, reading his papers to sundry men and women: Yea, he wrote abroad to Earlston, misrepresenting the proceedings of this meeting and the last, whereby he and Mr Hamilton were in hazard (as no wonder) of being jealous of friends and their doings at home: to know the certainty of which, he sent here a copy of the information he had got; which when received, was both astonishing and wounding to look upon."

The Remnant sent James Renwick, afterwards hanged, to justify their proceedings to Gordon and Hamilton; and this occasioned a quarrel between him and Russell, who accused Mr James, as he is always stiled in the Faithful Contendings, of perjury, in acquainting Hamilton with several matters, tho' he did not take the engagement to secrecy. Russell retired to Groningen, where he still kept up the schism, and seems to have seduced one Mr Flint, a promising disciple, from the right path. Meanwhile the Remnant appoint certain of their number to be sent to Fife, "to speak with some persons there, who had withdrawn with James Russell from their brethren, and were continuing in that separation; and out of brotherly love and kindness to them, to desire them to come and hear the gospel preached by Mr James Renwick." These missionaries went accordingly; and, by their own account, at Elie in Fife, conveened together *three men and a boy, and about seven or eight women!* to whom they feelingly described the great gifts of Mr James Renwick, and, in the name of the general meeting, invited them to partake of *that rich and unspeakable blessing, the Lord hath bestowed.* But their eloquence was of no avail; for the three men, the boy, and the women declared that they would neither listen to Renwick, nor join with them, insisting on the abomination of paying custom at ports and markets, though they were willing to pay them at boats and bridges; "and as for days of the week, and months of the year, they owned the same was not a ground of separation, yet adhered to that paper given in by James Russell to the general meeting anent the same; and particularly to that part of it which says, *those who own such names, serve themselves heirs to that same (if not greater) punishment, which God inflicted upon idolaters of old,* which is a real contradiction."—*Faithful Contendings*, p. 114.

Russell is said afterwards to have left Groningen in disgrace; and the editor has met with no particulars of his death, which, however, was not suitable to his deserts, for it is certain that none of the Archbishop's murderers, save Haxton of Rathillet and Andrew Guillan, perished by the hand of the executioner.

UPON Tuesday the eight of April, 1679, there was met by former appointment at Alex. Balfure's house in Gilston, Rathillet, Mr John Bonner of Greighton, younger, John Lindsey of Baldastard, Mr David Watsone in St Andrews, Robert Henderson in Balmerino, James Youle in Lathocker, Henry Corbie in Killintown, George Fleman, younger in Balbathie, Alex. Henderson, son to John Henderson in Kilbrachmont, John Scot in Lathons, James Ness in Hill-Teses, and Hackstone in Nether Largo, and James and Alex. and George Balfours. After prayer, and every one pressing another to shew the causes of the meeting, and ..... Rathillet said, Ye have sent for me, and I desire to know the cause of your sending for me. Whereupon Robert Henderson and Alexander Balfour answered, that the cause of sending for him and the calling of the meeting, was to consult anent the condition of the shire, the gospel be-

ing quite extinguished out of it, the hearts of many like to wax faint anent the keeping up of the same, through the terror and cruel oppression of William Carmichel, commissionat from the counsel for that effect, with a company of souldiers commanded by Captain Carnegy, ... Dobbie, lieutenant, and two squadrons of horse commanded by William Cockburn, sub-lieutenant to the king's guard, pursuing all that own'd the gospel by summoning such as they knew did not appear, and fined them for non-compearance; and upon the expiring of charges given for payment of these unlaws, which were the height that they could get them extended to, as if they had been a lawful judicature; and emitted, sold, and drove away all the goods they could get taken away, threating, striking, and burning with matches servants to cause them reveal their master, and many such insolences, not only in the houses that they were searching for, but wherever they pleased, breaking up doors in the night time, and if not prevented, that shire is like to lose the benefit of the gospel; ministers refusing to come where there is such visible hazard, except there be some course taken for their defence; all which they desired that it might be advised speedily to take course with, as also what was lawful to do without sinning, anent appearing before these judicatures, anent getting back their poyned goods. So all with one consent judged it unlawful to have any dealing with these judges, either in componing with them to get their goods back, or any other way to own them, but to ..... as they found themselves capable to do. And as for keeping up the gospel, both the necessity of carrying of arms, and the lawfulness of opposing all that should appear to desperse these meetings of the Lord's people was debated, and relating many instances of the Lord's owning all that had opposed the enemys of the gospel, and particularised James Mill and some others, who had broken a company of men who was raised for bearing down the work of God a

little before, as followeth :—Robert Lumbsdone of St . . . . . captain, having taken from John Duncan . . . . . 7 horse upon a Sabbath morning, for haste to be at the meeting which was gathering at Drumcurrow Craig, assaulted the said James, being on horseback armed, and with him some women and unarmed men, and fired upon him, shooting his horse thro' the craig; whereupon he lighted with the women and men present, beat him off, having the advantage of the ground, the place being full of stones, wounding the captain both on back and mouth, and some of the souldiers, and particularly Gilbert Duncan, who swore that morning that he should neither eat nor drink until he had some of the whigs' blood, and the first he got was out of his own head; the honest people being encouraged, and getting word that Mr Samuel Nearn was taken by the rest of the company, and one gentlewoman riding with him, and upon the sight of a few of the honest folk coming to them, they gave him his horse and arms that they had taken from them, and intreated him to keep back the people from falling upon them, which Mr Samuel did, and so they keeped their meeting peaceably. The like passage fell out with George Beaton, lieutenant, and the other half of the company that same day in the west end of the shire; and after this Captain Lumbsdone, to revenge this, sent a serjeant with 9 soldiers to Killmenie to search for James Mill, and if that missing him, to shoot his horse, which they doing, James escaped at a back door and went on horseback to Rathillet, and meeting James Hackstone, shewed his case to him, and James Kenere, his brother's man; and meeting other two, told them that there was two of the soldiers in James Mills, and the rest in the change-house, having carried with them some bed cloaths; whereupon they immediately fell upon the two that was in James Mill's house, disarming them; went to the rest and called them forth, wounded and disarmed them, and chased them home again; among whom was Gilbert

Duncan, that was swearing as they came to the door that he would eat none untill he got revenge; being summond, his head was broken again. The next day Alexander Wilsone, being ensign to the company, to resent that, came to Killmenie with 60 soldiers, and firing some shots to terrify the people, was answered with some shooting upon the hill beside; at the hearing, being afraid and wondered who it was, and being told by an woman that these they saw upon the hills were but the foremost, and if they should fall on the town they would presently be upon them, (and they were but herds and people that ran to the hills to see the town destroyed as was threatened;) so they forbear to do any wrong, but gave good language, entreating the townsmen to send in the king's arms that they had taken from the soldiers; upon this the company wanting pay, being denied of it by the counsel, hearing of their miscarriage, went all sundry, and never met again.

At this meeting there was no more done, being scattered with an alarm, appointing another meeting on Friday night, the 11th of April, at John Nickolson's house, colier, beside Lathons, where met the most part of the forenamed persons; and speaking of the former business, judged it their duty quickly to take some course with Carmichel to scarr him from his cruel courses; and advising how to get him, resolved to wait on him either in his coming or going from St Andrews, or other place in the shire, being to sit in all the judicatures in the shire for taking course with the honest party; and they resolved to fall upon him at St Andrews. Some objected, what if he should be in the prelate's house, what should be done in such a case; whereupon all present judged duty to hang both over the port,* especially the bishop, it being by many of the Lord's

* Cardinal Beaton's murderers exhibited his dead body over the wall of the castle of St Andrews; where one Guthrie, as Lindsey informs us, treated it with a brutality

people and ministers judged a duty long since not to suffer such a person to live, who had shed and was shedding so much of the blood of the saints, and knowing that other worthy Christians had used

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too shocking to be repeated. It is wonderful that Knox, who terms the assassination a godly fact, and is extremely jocular in the details of the Cardinal's employment the night previous to the murder, in settling "his accompts with Mistres Marioun Ogilby," (a daughter of the first Lord Ogilvy of Airly,) "who was espyit to depart from him by the privie posterne that morning; and therfore quietnes, eftir the reullis of physick, and a morne sleip were requisite for my lord," should have omitted this *godly fact* of Guthrie. Afterwards, the humane historian tells us, "Becaus the wedder was hotte, for it was in Maii, as ye have hard, and his funerallis culd not suddantlie be prepaired, it was thocht best (to keep him from stinking) to give him grit salt yneuche, a cope of leid, and a nuck in the bottom of the sey-tour, a plaice quhair mony of God's children had been imprisonit befoir, to await quhat exequies his brethren the bischopis wald prepair for him. These thingis we wryte merrille, but we would that the reidar would observe God's just judgments," &c. On the score of these two murders of Beaton and Sharp it is observable, that Wodrow and the other presbyterian writers put the very words of the Cardinal and his assassins into the mouths of the latter victim, and "the worthy *gentlemen*, men of courage and zeal for the cause of God," (SHIELDS' *Hind let loose*,) who killed him. Wodrow indeed, though he pretends not to approve of the fact, relates all its circumstances with the most fraternal sympathy and apologetick tenderness, like a genuine disciple of John Knox, who repaired to the castle of St Andrews, and resided there with Beaton's murderers, till they were all safely stowed in the French gallies, whereon *the papists, both in Scotland and France*, made this "thair sange of triumph:

> "Priestis content yow now, priestis content yow now;
> For Normond and his cumpanie hes fillit the gallayis fow."
>
> KNOX's *Hist. p.* 77.

In answer, no doubt, to another distich still preserved, by tradition, at St Andrews, composed by the enemies of Beaton:

> "Maids be merry now, maids be merry now,
> For stickit is our Cardinal, and saltit like ane sow."

means to get him upon the road before; but all was referred to a meeting that was to be in David Walker's in Lesly the Friday thereafter, being the 18th of April.

At this meeting there was something spoken anent the Indulgence, and being judged by some very dishonourable to God, and not contradicted tho' contraverted at some other meetings before, but being all unanimous, being met, James Mill in Kilmenie, David and Archibald Walkers in Lesly, John Henderson, servant to Kinkail, with his master's commission, John Archer, Alex. Reid in Patlochie, John, George, and James Mertains in Lesly, George Bir . . . . . in Kin . . . . ., asked William Danziel (Dingwall), James Russel, and several others of the forenamed persons, who, with one consent, did corroborate all that had been spoken, and blessing the Lord that had put it into the minds of his people to offer themselves for carrying on the Lord's work; and particularly David Walker and Archibald, and declared it had been their judgement a year before, and all condescended upon 10 or moe to be mounted presently with horse and arms, and choos'd Rathillet* to command them, he not being present at that time, and appointed the Saturday next for seeking the Lord's mind further into the matter, and that the Lord would stir up the spirits of his people to appear for his cause, and appointed Tuesday the 22d of April for to meet more generally, and that Rathillet, and such as would offer themselves, might be named and provided for that work, which was more

* Haxton of Rathillet had been arrested by the Archbishop's chamberlain for a debt owing by him to his master, and consequently had private pique aggravating presbyterian rancour to inflame him against Sharp. "He is said in his younger years to have been without the least sense of any thing religious, untill it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to incline him to go out and attend the gospel then preached in the fields, where he was caught in the gospel net."—*Scots Worthies.*

or less as was thought fit, and such as was not willing to venture might contribute for the rest; and warning was appointed to the several corners of the shire to meet the day appointed at David Walker's; and being met, instead of what cordialness was expected, they found David and Archibald Walkers dissuading from this course, whether receiving any news of liberty from the court as was suspected, and not without ground, we cannot tell; for, notwithstanding of all the clearness that they had in the meeting, David Walker alone to James Russel in his chamber, declared, that he was refreshed and comforted that the Lord had put it into the minds of his people, for it was the thing he would have been at a year before; and considering that there was not an army given to the west end of the shire, tho' it was belonging to them, and they promised before the meeting to give them sure warning, and appointing John Archie to go to the west and try what the honest party was doing; and an meeting appointed to be at James Anderson's, in the T . . . . . cels, the 29th April, where most of the forementioned persons, with several others, met from several places of the shire; and John Tucker, and James Stirk, and others, where they approved all formerly condescended on, and choosed two persons, John Archie and Henry Corbie to go to the south to know the minds of other ministers and christians, which was evidently enough made known by what was coming to their ears every day, of their resisting of soldiers both at meetings and for paying cess.—One Alexander Smith, a weaver at the Struther dyke, a very godly man, after prayer anent their clearness in the matter about Carmichel, desired all to go forward, seeing that God's glory was the only motive that was moving them to offer themselves to act for his broken down work, and if the Lord saw it meet to deliver Carmichel in their hands, he would bring him in their way, and employ

them in some piece of work more honourable to God and them both.

At this meeting it was appointed that they should keep Thursday, the first of May, for seeking the Lord's counsel and assistance, and that they should be earnest with God thro' the whole shire for keeping such back, which was offering themselves, from doing any thing that either might dishonour him or wrong the cause; and that God would further and assist them in doing any thing that might be for his glory and the good of the church; and that there should be some speedy course taken with Carmichel, who was raging and driving away their goods every day, which was like to make some take a sinful course to be freed of trouble, and getting again their goods; and it was desired by all present to search for John Balfour* and John Henderson, for they were two that had ventured their lives several years before for the gospel; and earnestly desired to lay all moying for them, and to write for them, which was done; and parting from this meeting Wednesday morn-

* John Balfour, Haxton's brother-in-law, was a ferocious enthusiast, "although he was by some reckoned none of the most religious. He was a little man, squint-eyed, and of a very fierce aspect." (*Scots Worthies.*)—In the year 1677, Captain Carstares, by order of the privy council, attempted to seize him in his own house of Kinloch, but was repulsed, and he and his party put to flight by Balfour and fifteen other whigs, among whom James Russell was one; they discharged a volley of fire-arms from the house, and then pursued the runaways on horseback, calling to Carstares to yield, and render himself in the name of God and of the Covenant.—(See an account of this affair in *Kirkton, p.* 380.)—The next remarkable exploit of Balfour, or Burly, as he is commonly nicknamed, probably from his strength, (Burly signifying strong,) or perhaps some allusion to the title of the head of his clan, was the murder of the Archbishop, to whom Criechton says he had been chamberlain, and through negligence or knavery had run into a large arrear. A hint in Wodrow alone coincides with this assertion, which is not to be found in any of the narratives respecting Sharp's murderers published by either party.

ing, went to Bussie a considerable number of them, and staid all day, where they appointed to meet on Friday night, for taking some course with Carmichel on Saturday, if he could be gotten, and to be ready together against the Sabbath for keeping of a field conventicle, resolving to resist such as should offer to oppose the meeting, and there was one away for bringing of a minister. They also resolved to draw a paper and drop it in Cuper, threatening such as should buy their poyned goods; and accordingly they did, after this manner:—That whereas there was such robberies and spulzies committed in that shire by James Carnegy and his soldiers, by virtue of an order from that adulterer William Carmichel, held on to it by that perjured apostate Prelate Sharp, a known enemy to all godliness; that these were to give advertisement to all that should meddle with these spoiled goods, either by assisting, resetting, buying, or any way countenancing the same, (however they thought themselves at present guarded by a military force, and these persons spoil'd despicable,) that they should be looked on as accessary to the robbery, and should meet with a punishment answerable to the villany, and that by a party equal to all who durst own them in these courses, and that so soon as God should enable them thereto, whose names they should find underscrived in these following letters, affixing thereto the 24 letters of the a, b, c: which paper Rathillet fixed that night to the school door of Cupar, which being gotten the next day, put a great terror to all these persons who were accessary to the present troubles, troupers, soldiers, judges, clerks, and all others in that shire.

On Friday's night, the 2d of May, upon the muir north-east from Gilston, there met of all 13 of what was expected, one of whom they let go, not being clear to reveal to him what was designed; the other 12 were the forenamed David Hackstone of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, James Russel in Kettle, George Fleman in

Balbathie, Andrew Henderson, Alexander Henderson in Kilbrachmont, William Danziel in Caddam, James, Alex., and George Balfour in Gilston, Thomas Ness* in P....., and Andrew Guillon, weaver in Balmerinock, who had been put out of Dundee for not hearing of the curate: These, after a while advice what to do, and no more coming, and fearing they should be discovered, there being troupers and soldiers in Cupar, Luderney, Balkirsty, Largo, and Auchtermuchty, they went all to Robert Black's in Baldinny, himself being absent for fear of being taken, where putting up their horse, and praying, and then lying down in the barn to sleep, having sent one to Coupar to try Carmichel's motion, who returned about 7 hours, told that he with another on horseback, and 3 on foot, were gone south from Cupar toward Tervathill to hunting. Upon which some of them going hastily to horse, others drawing back, judged it fit that Rathillet should go alone and try the ground, and if he found him, give a sign and they should all come;—he going hastily away and going down a steep place, his horse falling, being assaulted with a dog, trailed his master down the brae, brake his bridle, ran away, which the rest seeing, sent Alexander Henderson to help to take him; but Rathillet getting him before he came, rode safely away; then James Russel, Alex. Henderson, George Fleman, George Balfour, thinking to get in betwixt him and the town, pursued a horseman with some foot, judging it to be Carmichel, rode towards him; he perceiving them, rode fast away, and they pursuing, which Alexander Henderson seeing, and John Balfour called back Rathillet; but they having overtaken the horseman, found it

* "Upon the 27th of February, 1679, the council cite before them Thomas and James Ness, with several others, to answer to the charge of being at house and field conventicles since the year 1674. They not compearing, are denounced, and put to the horn."—WODROW.

to be the Laird of Blebo; whereupon William Danziel coming up, they again took the way west toward Tervathill on the north side, and Rathillet being nearest Cupar, came back to the rest, told them, as he supposed, he had seen Carmichel presently go into Cupar, and that it seemed God had remarkably kept them back, and him out of their hand, for if they had not been so hindered, they had gotten him upon the fields; whereupon turning about on the west side of the hill, and then towards Ceres, and seeing the foot-hunters, they went to them; and then seeing two horsemen go into Ceres, they went after them to be sure what they were, and finding it was not Carmichel they went eastward, where Andrew Guillon met them, and advising where to go, John Balfour said he was sure they had something ado, for he being at Paris his uncle's house, intending towards the Highlands because of the violent rage in Fife, was pressed in spirit to return; and he inquiring the Lord's mind anent it, got that word born in upon him, Go and prosper. So he coming from prayer, wondering what it could mean, went again and got it confirmed by that scripture, Go, have not I sent you? whereupon he durst no more question, but presently returned. Likewise, on the back of which, a boy came from Baldinny, and said, that the good wife had sent him to know how they had sped;* they told they had missed him, and asked for James and Alexander Balfour

* In the Account of the Depositions respecting the Primate's Murder, this woman is mentioned: "Three days before the murder, some of the assassins had a meeting at Millar's house in Magask, where they concerted the business; and it is deponed also, that the next night they lodged at Robert Black's house in Baldinny, whose wife, they depone, was a great instigator of the fact; and that at parting, *when one of them kissed her,* she prayed that God might bless and prosper them; and added these words, If long Leslie (this was Mr Alexander Leslie, minister at Ceres,) be with him, lay him on the green also; to which the ruffian answered, holding up his hand, There is the hand that shall do it."

and Thomas Ness, who had not come forth with the rest, he told they were gone; they desired him to go back and see where they were gone to that they might go to them, and if there were any word come about the preaching, which they expected to be in the north side to-morrow; and judging it fit to be together, lest pursued, the boy going and returning, said, Gentlemen, there is the bishop's coach, our goodwife desired me to tell you; which they seeing betwixt Ceres and Blebo-hole, said, Truly, this is of God, and it seemeth that God hath delivered him into our hands; let us not draw back, but pursue; for all looked on it, considering the former circumstances, as a clear call from God to fall upon him.

Whereupon all agreeing to follow, it was mentioned what should be done with him. George Fleman said, I will not go one foot further, for if we shall spare his life our hazard shall be no less, and likewise his cruelty shall be greater; and, with some others, said, Surely we have a clear call to execute God's justice upon him now when in such a capacity. James Russell said it had been born in upon his spirit some days before in prayer, having more than ordinary outlettings of the spirit for a fortnight together at Lesly, and told to several of his intimates that he had met with several scriptures, and that it was born in upon him that the Lord would employ him in some piece of service or it was long, and that there would be some great man, who was an enemy to the kirk of God, cut off; and he could not be quit of the thoughts of Nero, and asked where he could find that scripture, for he could not get it. He was forced to devote himself to God and enter in a covenant with the Lord, and renewed all his former vows and engagement against papists, prelates, indulgences, and all that was enemies to the work of God, and opposed the flourishing of Christ's kingdom, and that he should not refuse nor draw back whenever the Lord should call him to act for him, as far as the Lord should enable him and give him strength,

tho' there should be never so much seeming hazard; upon the 2d day of May, at Lesly, 1679. And seeing he had before been at several meetings (but not mentioning all this at that nick of time, but the heads of it only,) with several godly men in other places of the kingdom, who not only judged it their duty to take that wretch's life, and some others, but had essayed it twice before, and came to the shire for that purpose, and once wonderfully he escaped at the Queensferry, for he went down to Leith with the chancellor in a boat; in the mean time they were in the other side coming over, but knew nothing of it, and the Lord had kept them back at that time, he having more blood to shed, for this was about 8 days before Mr James Mitchell was execute; but he said he was sure that he had a clear call at that time, and that it seemed the Lord had delivered that wretch into their hand, and he durst not draw back but go forward, considering what engagements the Lord had taken from him the day before; for tho' the Lord had kept him back formerly, he doubted not but his offer was acceptable to the Lord. And when asked what they would do with the bishop, he answered, he should let them see what he should do with him, for he durst not but execute the justice of God upon him for the innocent blood he had shed; and William Danziel spake to the same purpose: so with one consent they desired Rathillet to command them that they might not delay, and to be ready at his command whatever assault they should meet with.

But Rathillet answered, that the Lord was his witness he was willing to venture all he had for the interest of Christ, yet he durst not lead them on to that action, there being a known prejudice betwixt the bishop and him, which would mar the glory of the action, for it would be imputed to his particular revenge, and that God was his witness he did nothing on that account; but he would not hinder them from what God had called them to, and that he should

not leave them; which John Balfour hearing, said, Gentlemen, follow me: whereupon all the 9 rode what they could to Magusmuir, the hills at the nearest, and Andrew Henderson riding afore, being best mounted, and saw them when he was on the top of the hill, and all the rest came up and rode very hard, for the coach was driving hard; and being come near Magus, George Fleman and James Russell riding into the town, and James asked at the goodman if that was the bishop's coach? He fearing, did not tell, but one of his servants, a woman, came running to him and said it was the bishop's coach, and she seemed to be overjoyed; and James riding towards the coach, to be sure, seeing the bishop looking out at the door, cast away his cloak and cried, Judas be taken! The bishop cried to the coachman to drive; he firing at him, crying to the rest to come up, and the rest throwing away their cloaks except Rathillet, ... fired into the coach driving very fast about half a mile, in which time they fired several shots in at all parts of the coach, and Alexander Henderson seeing one Wallace having a cock'd carrabine going to fire, gript him in the neck, and threw him down and pulled it out of his hand. Andrew Henderson outran the coach, and stroke the horse in the face with his sword; and James Russell coming to the postiling, commanded him to stand, which he refusing, he stroke him on the face and cut down the side of his shine, and striking at the horse next brake his sword, and gripping the ringeses of the foremost horse in the farthest side: George Fleman fir'd a pistol in at the north side of the coach beneath his left arm, and saw his daughter dight of the furage;* and riding forward, gripping the horses' bridles in the nearest side and held them still, George Bal-

* Isabel, the Archbishop's eldest daughter, afterwards married to John Cunningham of Barns, in the shire of Fife; his second daughter, Margaret, was married to William Lord Saltoun; both had issue.

four fired likewise, and James Russell got George Fleman's sword and lighted of his horse, and ran to the coach door, and desired the bishop to come forth, Judas. He answered, he never wronged man: James declared before the Lord that it was no particular interest, nor yet for any wrong that he had done to him, but because he had betrayed the church as Judas, and had wrung his hands these 18 or 19 years in the blood of the saints, but especially at Pentland; and Mr Guthrie and Mr Mitchell and James Learmonth; and they were sent by God to execute his vengeance on him this day, and desired him to repent and come forth; and John Balfour on horseback said, Sir, God is our witness that it is not for any wrong thou hast done to me, nor yet for any fear of what thou could do to me, but because thou hast been a murderer of many a poor soul in the kirk of Scotland, and a betrayer of the church, and an open enemy and persecutor of Jesus Christ and his members, whose blood thou hast shed like water on the earth, and therefore thou shalt die! and fired a pistol; and James Russell desired him again to come forth and make him for death, judgement, and eternity; and the bishop said, Save my life, and I will save all yours. James answered, that he knew that it was not in his power either to save or to kill us, for there was no saving of his life, for the blood that he had shed was crying to heaven for vengeance on him, and thrust his shabel at him. John Balfour desired him again to come forth, and he answered, I will come to you, for I know you are a gentleman and will save my life; but I am gone already, and what needs more? And another told him of keeping up of a pardon granted by the king for 9 persons at Pentland,* and then at the back side of the

* Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, was generally accused by the covenanters of this cruelty, which seems to have had no foundation in truth.

coach thrust a sword at him, threatening him to go forth; whereupon he went forth, and falling upon his knees, said, For God's sake, save my life; his daughter falling on her knees, begging his life also. But they told him that he should die, and desired him to repent and make for death. Alexander Henderson said, Seeing there has been lives taken for you already, and if ours be taken it shall not be for nought; he rising of his knees went forward, and John Balfour stroke him on the face, and Andrew Henderson stroke him on the hand and cut it, and John Balfour rode him down; whereupon he, lying upon his face as if he had been dead, and James Russell hearing his daughter say to Wallace that there was life in him yet, in the time James was disarming the rest of the bishop's men, went presently to him and cast of his hat, for it would not cut at first, and haked his head in pieces.

Having thus done, his daughter came to him and cursed him, and called him a bloody murderer; and James answered they were not murderers, for they were sent to execute God's vengeance on him; and presently went to the coach, and finding a pair of pistols, took them, and then took out a trunk and brake it up, and finding nothing but women's furniture, and asked what should be done with it; and it was answered, that they would have nothing but papers and arms; and Andrew Henderson lighted, and took a little box and brake it up, and finding some papers, which he took; and opening a cloak-bag they found moe papers and a Bible full of porterers (portraits), with a little purse hung in it, a copper dollar, two pistol ball, two turners, two stamps, some coloured thread, and some yellow coloured thing like to pairings of nails, which would not burn, which they took. At this time James Russell was taking the rest of his men's arms, and Wallace, as he would have resisted, came roundly forward, and James Russell smote him on the cheek with his shabel and riped all their pockets, and got some papers and

a knife and fork, which he took; and crying to the rest to see that the bishop be dead, William Danziel lighted, and went and thrust his sword into his belly, and the dirt came out; turning him over, ript his pockets, and found a whinger and knifes conform, with some papers, which he took. James Russell desired his servants to take up their priest now. All this time Andrew Guilon pleaded for his life. John Balfour threatening him to be quiet, he came to Rathillet, who was standing at a distance with his cloak about his mouth all the time on horseback, and desired him to come and cause save his life, who answered, as he meddled not with them nor desired them to take his life, so he durst not plead for him nor forbid them.*

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* The following narrative of this murder is to be found in Wodrow's hand-writing, among the MS. collections for his History. It is printed here, as it varies considerably from Russell's account. And it ought to be remarked, that the reverend historian of the church of Scotland varies from Russell also, asserting that Sharp's murderers were guiltless of any robbery, save of papers and arms, whereas Russell confesses to a knife and fork, (Ravillac, a similar enthusiast, stole the knife with which he murdered Henry of France,) besides the Bible, purse, &c. and a horse, from which one of the primate's servants had been dismounted. In the Tory account of the murder, printed at the time, it is affirmed, that the assassins "robbed his daughter of some gold and other things she had in a little box (they had wounded her, thrusting at her father, betwixt whom and them she had interposed herself, by a stab in her thigh and one of her thumbs,) then they took away my lord's night-bag, Bible, girdle, and some papers of moment; they also robbed his servants, and took their arms from them." The strange circumstance of the humble bee, narrated below, is also omitted by Wodrow, in his printed History, for reasons sufficiently obvious.

"*Account of the Manner of the Death of Mr J. Sharp, from two Persons who were present.*

"Upon May 2d, Bishop Sharp came to Captain Seton's house in Kennoway. On

Then they all mounted, and going west gather'd up some pistols which they had thrown away after fired; and James Russell seeing Alexander Lessly of Kennowie, rode to him and asked who he

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May 3d, he went home towards St Andrews, and took Ceyres in his way, and smoked a pipe with the episcopall incumbent there.

" There were 9 men of presbyterian perswasion on their hiding, who hearing that Bailey Carmichael, one of their most violent persecutors, was to hunt that day, resolved to attack him, without any design upon his life, and threaten him soe as they hoped he should goe out of Fyfe, and they be ridd of him. They wandered up and down the hills above Cupar for some time, and went to some other places, but did not find him.

" The reason was, as soon almost as Carmichael came furth to his hunting, a sheepherd of Scottstarbet, if the informers be not forgote, advised the bailay to goe back to Coupar, for some men had been inquiring after him, and he saw them, and judged they wer come out to meet with him: and Carmichael did follow his advice.

" The 9 wanderers, wearied with attendance, were thinking to goe home, and scatter; when they are just going to part, there comes a servant of Black, a farmer thereabout, (Mr T. B. fewer in P.) and informs them the archbishop's coach was in Cyres, upon which they consulted what to doe, and resolved, that God having thrown the traitor into their hands, they would cut him off. Rathillet, one of them, opposed it as a matter of blood, and of the last consequence to this land, and what required a great deal of more deliberation. One of them prayed for direction, and after prayer, Rathillet told them he was not yet determined, nor satisfyed in his own mind.

" However, the rest went forward in their designe, and descrying the bishop's coach, one of them upon a fleet horse outroad the rest, and called to the postillion to stope. But he driving on, at the bishop calling out Drive, drive, drive! he cut the postilion on the head, and then some of the coach traces, which stoped the coach.

" In a little time the rest came up to the coach doore, and poured in on the bishop's body a shower of ball, and again mounted their horse. The bishop's daughter, who was in the coach with him, was scrieching and weeping most bitterly. When they were mounting, one of them heard her say, Coachman, there is life in my father yet. On this he beckoned to the rest to come back, for they were riding off. And when returning, they found the bishop safe and whole, without any hurt from shott, and forced him out of the coach, and told him what a bloody persecutor he had been, &c.,

was. He answered, he was one of my Lord St Andrew's servants, and disarmed him, commanded him to quit his horse, and set him away a foot, and they took up all their cloaks which they cast away at the east side of Magus, and consulting, and charging their pistols, where to go, and resolved to go to the Tewchits, which was about three miles from the place; and riding towards it, sent Geo. Balfour to Gilston to warn his brethren and Thomas Ness of what was done, and if they thought meet to come to them that they might be fitter for defence if assaulted, but if not, that they should keep out of the way, lest being surprised in the posture they were in, they should be thought accessary; which George did, and coming

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and bid him pray. He refused to pray, tho' often desired: Andrew Guillon, from whom I have it, said he would by noe means pray. He creeped on hand and foot toward Rathillet, crying, Sir, you are a gentleman, you will protect me. To which he replyed, Sir, I shall never lay a hand on you. Then he begged they might spare the life of ane old man, and promised to obtain a remission, it being capitall to attack a privy councellour. Andrew Guillon never touched him, but endeavoured to secure his daughter from danger, when interposing herself between her father and them. It deserves a remark, that the two who had noe share were the only persons who dyed on this score.

"The bishop keeped up some courage still: they discharged a new shower of shott on him, on which he fell back, and lay as dead. Some gave him a prick with a sword, on which he raised himself. Then they saw shooting would not doe, and drew their swords. On the sight of cold iron, his courage failed, and he made hideouse schriechs as ever wer heard; one of them gave him a blow on the face, and his chafts fell down; then he spoke somewhat, but it could not be understood; they redoubled their stroaks, and killed him outright.

"They took nothing from him but his tobacco-box and Bible, and a few papers. With these they went to a barn near by. Upon the opening of his tobacco-box, a living humming bee flew out. This either Rathillet or Balfour called his familiar, and some in the company not understanding the term, they explained it to be a devil. In the box were a pair of pistoll ball, parings of nails, some worsit or silk, and some say a paper with some characters, but that is uncertain."

to the Tewchits where the rest were, told that they were greatly astonished at the news, but refused to come to the rest, who, after putting up their horse, and putting forth a man to watch if any should come toward that place from any airt, then went to prayer, first together, and then each one alone, with great composure of spirit, and enlargement of heart more nor ordinary, blessing the Lord, who had called them out and carried them so couragiously thro' so great a work, and led them by his holy spirit in every step that they stept in that matter, and prayed that, seeing he had been pleased to honour them to act for him, and to execute his justice upon that wretch, (whom all that loved the wellfare of Zion ought to have striven who might have had their hand first on him,) might let it be known by keeping them out of the enemy's hands and straight in his way; that they did nothing out of any self-prejudice nor self-interest, but only all they were commanded of God; and as now he had been pleased to lead and guide them by his spirit, and made them act valiantly as soldiers of Jesus Christ, not being ashamed of what they had done, but desired to glorify God for it, and was willing, if he should be pleased and see it for his glory, they were willing to seal the truth of it with their blood thro' his grace and strength enabling them, who would send none a warfare on their own charges; at which exercise, except what they spent in taking meat to themselves and their horse, and looking over some papers, they spent that afternoon till about eight o'clock at night; then horsing (and William Danziel after prayer his alone told them all that the Lord had said to him, Well done, good and faithful servants,) rode all away, nine, about half a mile west, where George Fleman, Andrew Henderson, and Alexander Henderson parted with the rest and went home, and at Dirvine comone William Danziel parted with the rest and went home. The rest went alongst Pitlessie bridge through Killoch and away, Andrew Guil-

lon parting with them in Edensmoor;* the other four went near to the bridge of Erne, and suspecting that there might be some enemies at the bridge, (which they learned afterwards there was four waiting on who passed there,) they turned into a widow's house be-east the bridge on the side of Erne, where they staid all Sabbath, Munday; and Tuesday afternoon they saw a squad of the king's guard coming alongst the bridge from Perth, when they were looking forth in the yard, who had been searching for them, and a footman who lived thereabout, being an enemy to the good cause, seeing George Balfour with their landlady's brother go into St Johnstone the day before, and getting some intelligence, ran after the king's guard to tell them that they were into that house at the water side, but they riding so fast away, did not reach them; whereupon they send after the troupers to see where they went, and to know their motion; and learning they had taken quarters in Abernethie, and then thinking it not safe to stay still, lest they should get some notice and come back again, James Russell and George Balfour presently horsed and rode to a smidey a mile west and shod their horses, and the smith told them all the news, and that Inchderny was killed, which was very astonishing to them;†

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* In the year 1683, Guillan was seized, tried at Edinburgh, and condemned to be taken to the Cross of Edinburgh, and to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, and then hanged; his head to be cut off, and fixed at Cowpar, and his body to be carried to Magus Moor, and hung up in chains. The hangman struck nine times with the axe, before he got his hands off. Andrew in his last speech denied that he died a murderer, "tho' it be laid to his charge that he joyned with those who executed justice upon a Judas, who sold the kirk of Scotland for fifty thousand merks a year."

† Andrew Ayton, younger of Indarnie, when about seventeen years of age, was intercommuned for non-conformity; in Blackadder's Memoirs he is termed "a comely sweet youth, well affected and seriously pious. He was travelling toward Couper with

and within a little the other two came to them against they were ready, and then rode all to Diplen mill, and they staid in a house of..... be-west Diplen place all Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and coming back to the first house; but they fearing, went away to the Ochills. Saturday morning, came to an honest man's house called Munday, and after they had slept a little, Rathillet went towards Balward, and George Balfour went to a smidey with John Balfour's horse and called on a smith, and Rathillet went from Balward to Lindoors, thinking to stay at Robert Cairns' house, not being suspected, and being his acquaintance; but there being such a terror on their spirits that he went home to his own house, where he staid all Sabbath; and going at night to a tenant's house of his own, he staid all Monday doing his affairs, and at night he and his man James Kennere horsed and came on Tuesday morning to Balward and staid all day, and at night rode to Diplen mill, and to-morrow went to the Chingles at Fortawiat kirk, where he got the rest, having gone from Munday on Saturday's night to

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one in his company, and his footman, whom the troopers, being on their search, perceiving, they pursued till they overtook the man that rode with him, at whom they asked who it was, and notwithstanding he told them it was young Inchdarney, yet they madly pursued after, and one of them, called Auchmuty, shott him with a carrabin in the back as he fled, and with the rest took him prisoner to Cowper, where they used him as they pleased till tomorrow, that he ended his life, with many sweet and satisfying expressions," &c.—Wodrow affirms that the soldier who killed him died in the year 1682, under great terror for the fact; but in the printed copy of his History, belonging to the Advocate's Library, is this MS. note. "A horrible lie, for he is yet living, 1724."—In the Account of the Informations respecting the Archbishop's Murder, taken at Cowpar, it is alleged, "that by the letters found about young Inchdarny, and in other letters found in the chest of Russell in the Kettle, it is more than evident that the deed had long been premeditated by the actors, and many moe: that his grace was way-laid by diverse parties (as the witnesses depone,) so that whether he had gone straight to St Andrews, or to his house of Scotscraig, he could not escape them."

Laurence Duncan in Aberdaigy wood, and staid all the Sabbath, and on Monday James Russell and George Balfour went to Duplin miln on their foot to see what news they could hear, and by providence there was a gentleman, one Mr Alexander Dunneir, who invited them to come to a gentleman's house where he staid, beside the castle of Drummond, and staid two-three days, and they went back to Aberdaigy and told John Balfour, who was very refreshed, being well acquainted with the gentleman; and they came to Duplin on Monday's night to the old quarters, and on Tuesday's night to the Chingles, having sent for William Danziel before, who had been all the time at Dysart, in an old house belonging to Mrs Dongel, alone, a piece aback from the town, who staid alone day and night, except the gentlewoman and her daughters brought him meat in the night time; and one night in Lesly, in a worthy man's house and woman's, called James Mertin, a cordiner, and Janet Moses his wife, being the day after the prelate's death, and being searched by troupers and soldiers, he wonderfully escaped at a back door; and on Thursday he came to the Chingles to the rest, and an honest lass who had sent for him, called Isobel Alison,* and being

* This *honest lass*, and Marion Harvie, a votary of Donald Cargill, fell victims to the covenant in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, 1681. Isabel's account of her examination before the privy council is very characteristick. "When I was brought before the council, they asked me, Where did you live, at St Johnstoun? Answer. Yes. What was your occupation? To which I made no answer." (This appears somewhat suspicious.) "The bishop asked, If I conversed with Mr Donald Cargill? I answered, Sir, you seem to be a man whom I have no clearness to speak to. He desired another to ask the same question: I answered, I have seen him, and I wish that I had seen him oftener, &c. They asked, If I did not converse with David Hackstoun? I answered, I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth. They asked, If the killing of the Bishop of St Andrews was

altogether five, he told them that he had never so much of the presence of the Lord before, for all that 8 or 9 days he was in a rapture, and the Lord had confirmed him and approved all that they

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a pious act? I answered, I never heard him say that he killed him; but if God moved any, and put it upon them to execute his righteous judgments upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked me, When saw ye John Balfour, that pious youth? I answered, I have seen him. They asked, When? I answered, These are frivolous questions, I am not bound to answer them. They asked, If I knew the two Hendersons that murdered the Lord St Andrews? I answered, I never knew any Lord St Andrews. They said, Mr James Sharp, if ye call him so. I said, I never thought it murder; but if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgement upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked, Whether or not I would own all that I had said? for, said they, you will be put to own it in the Grass-market," &c. (*Cloud of Witnesses.*)—Alison's companion, Harvey, had been caught, while on her way from Edinburgh to a field-meeting, by a party sent out to seize Cargill, (*Cargill's Life.*) When examined before the council, she owned the treasonable Sanquhar Declaration and the Queensferry Paper. One of the counsellors told her *a rock, a cod and bobbins, would set her better than these debates,* a truth she would not so readily acknowledge. In her Testimony, printed in the Cloud of Witnesses, she leaves her blood "upon the traitor that sits upon the throne; then on James Duke of York, who was sitting in the council when I was examined the first day. And I leave my blood on the bloody crew who call themselves rulers. And I leave it on James Henderson in the North-Ferry, who was the Judas that sold Archibald Stewart, and Mr Skeen, and me to the bloody soldiers for so much money. I leave my blood on Serjeant Warrock, who took me and brought me to prison. And I leave my blood on the criminal lords, as they call themselves, and especially that excommunicate tyrant, George Mackenzie, the advocate, and the fifteen assizers; and on Andrew Cunningham that gave me my doom; and on that excommunicate traitor, Thomas Dalyell, who was porter that day that I was first before them, and threatened me with the boots."

In this Christian frame of spirit she and Alison ascended the scaffold, where their situation hath been bewailed by tender-hearted historians, as about to be executed with some women condemned for child murder. But one of these martyrs had been well inured to the society of murderers, even by her own confession; and the other approved of the archbishop's assassination. Harvie said, "at fourteen or fifteen I was a

had done, and still to the day of his death he was kept in a rapture of joy, and at his death witnessed against the indulgence, and declared that the Lord had let him see that it was hatched in hell for to ruin the kirk of God, and told his brethren that was with him, that if the Lord spared him, and if ever he went to the shire of Fife, he should contend more nor ever he had done before, tho' he

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hearer of the curates and indulged, and while I was a hearer of these, I was a blasphemer and a Sabbath breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burthen to me; but since I heard this persecuted gospel, I durst not blaspheme nor break the Sabbath, and the Bible was my delight."—She would have said more, but the executioner cut short the thread of her discourse by hanging her.

The next Cameronian female who made a figure on her trial for these principles, was one Fyfe, whom Fountainhall asserts, with much probability, to have been mad.—"March 27, 1682. Christian Fyfe, late indweller in Fife, is indicted for invading a minister, and treason. The probation adduced against her is her confession before the committee for public affairs. Edinburgh, 21 March, Christian Fyfe confesseth, that on Sabbath last, she did beat Mr Ramsay in the Old Kirk, at the ending of the sermon, and the reason was, she thought he was profaning the Sabbath. She declares she thinks the king is not lawful king, nor the judges lawful judges, otherwise they would never have murdered Mr Donald Cargill and Rathillet. Since Mr Cargill's death she thinks there was not an honest minister in Scotland: that she thinks it very good service to kill all the bishops present, and all of them that are in Scotland; declares the reason why she went to church was to beat, and not to hear the minister.

"When before the Lords of Justiciary, she adhered to her former confession, declined them as judges, and added, that she went not to the kirk to beat a lawful minister, but one whom she thought a Judas and a devil; and that those who killed the archbishop were at their duty. She was condemned to be hanged on the 7th of April, in the Grass-market of Edin:" (Wodrow, *vol. II. p.* 262.)—but was afterwards reprieved; and here it may be observed, that a reprieve was actually granted by the privy council to the two women drowned for whiggery at Wigton; and it was recommended to the secretaries to procure their remission, which recommendation at that time was looked upon as a pardon. This circumstance Wodrow has candour enough to mention; but later historians have passed it over in silence. It remains to be explained, how the reprieve was rendered of no avail, and those simple wretches drowned.

should be looked on as never so ill, for he was as a speckled bird looked on before by friends, and he promised to the Lord to be a stated enemy to it, and to all that owned it while he lived.

And on Wednesday they all six took horse to the castle of Drumond, and came there to a change-house, and sent for Mr Alexander Duncan (he not being there) to come to them whom he had trysted on Monday at Duplin mill; and when he came he desired them to carry as troupers, and made the fashion of taking him, for the whole country was enraged against them, and they could not stay, but presently went with him to an honest man's house beside the castle, called Brown, and refreshed themselves and their horses, and presently horsed again and got a guide from that place with them, not knowing one foot of the way, and came to Ardoch, where they shod their horses and refreshing themselves, and presently took their horses and went toward Dumblain; and as journeying, one John Burden, Lord of Fedill, overtook them, a very malicious enemy, and he asked them what news; and presently he began to regret the prelate's death, and of one Inchdernie's death, and of one Rathillet, who had been at the bishop's murdering. They answered, they heard of Inchdernie's but not of Rathillet's. He taking them for troupers, they began to ask him if he heard tell what way they have gone, and he said, Gentlemen, if I knew I would tell you, for I am a captain of the militia; and earnestly entreated them to go by to his house and take a glass of wine, being but a ridge length off the way; and they went with him and took a drink on horseback, but would not light, tho' he was very earnest, but they told him that he knew that when troupers received orders they bud to obey, and he acknowledged that, and spiered whose troupers they belonged to, and they told him that they belonged to Mr Hamilton's troop, and desired them to stay at the bridge of Doun, and he would inquire for the murderers; and likewise told

them that they need to beware of themselves, for there was the matter of a 100 horsemen that rode thro' Dumblain yesternight, and they could not get word what they were, but thinking them to be fanaticks. And they presently took journey and came to Dumblain, carrying still as troupers, asked for the clerk's house who sold brandy; when come to the door, called for the clerk and for a double gill of brandy;* presently gathered a great multitude of people about them, regretting the bishop's murder, and then the clerk came, and he regretted it likewise; and they sporting with them, began to spier if they heard tell where they had gone, or if they had seen any that way; and the clerk answered and said, You are all of them, and said to John Balfour, You shot first at him. Rathillet laughing, said, If all Dumblain had been here they would not have guessed so right; and the clerk not suspecting, he would have them take another gill of brandy, and desired them to stay at the bridge of Doun, and he would come to them to-morrow and give them an account of some whigs that lived thereabout, for he

* Some of the most notable saints, about this time, were not altogether enemies to brandy, if we may credit Robert Hamilton, their leader at Bothwell, who, in his long winded epistle to the Societies, dated Dec. 7, 1685, talking of John Haddow, Thomas Hog, younger, and another, says, "When great Cameron and these with him were taking many a cold blast and storm in the fields, and among the cott-houses in Scotland, these three had for the most part their residence in Glasgow, where they found good quarters, and a full table, (which I doubt not but some bestowed upon them from real affection to the Lord's cause;) and when these three were together, their greatest work was, who should make the finest and sharpest roundels, and break the quickest jests upon one another, and to tell what valiant acts they were to do, and who could laugh loudest and most heartily among them. And when at any time they came out to the country, whatever other things they had, they were careful each of them to have *a large flask of brandy* with them; which was very heavy to some, particularly to Mr Cameron, Mr Cargill, and Henry Hall: I shall name no more."—*Faithful Contendings, p.* 198.

durst not tell them before the people, for there was some of them that would destroy him; but taking their leaves, rode forward, being near night, and not knowing where to go to, rode very hard and sent back their guide at Dumblain, not being able to hold up with them, and they came to the kirk of Kipping, having taken a guide out of his bed as troupers, which alarmed the whole country, being honest folk, and came to a change-house beside the kirk, and they put up their horse, not going to bed, for they knew not that they were friends, and prayed together in a chamber; but the people was in their beds, except some who was warning the country, and one that waited on their horse and noticed what they did; and timous in the morning they went to their prayers, and the lad that waited on their motion overhearing them at prayer, wondered and told the rest of the family, and they suspected, but was not sure.* Then they

* The fanaticks made a wonderful noise during prayers, sighing, weeping, and heaving forth many groans. "He breaks his buttons, and cracks seams at every saying he sobs out." JONSON'S *Bartholomew Fair.*—A religious man of Irongray parish was discovered in the fields, by these noises, which led the soldiers to the spot where he concealed himself; they told him, "Sir, we have heard you many times *howling*, if we hear you again," &c. *Naphthali.*—In Livingston's Memorable Characteristics, (MS.) is an extraordinary account of the devotions of Patrick M'Lewrath, a husbandman in the parish of Dailing, in Carrick, *a great wrestler in prayer*, and two of his friends, who frequently met to impart their experiences, "two of them sitting on a form, and the other on a chair before the form, they all took other in their arms, and shook to and again, and uttered their voices in a kind of cruning singing way, but not uttering any articulate words, and yet the tears running down from them; for at that time they did not understand there was any such exercise as Christians to pray together, for this was before Mr James English came to be minister at Dailling."—Rutherford advises to "beware of fashionable and dead prayers, coming from custom, not conscience. Well then, ere ye go away, lay on at last a good knock, and always so pray, that ye instantly urge the answer of your letter."—*The Cruel Watchmen, a Sermon by Mr* S. RUTHERFORD.

desired a guide to Kilsyth; and about half a mile be-west Kippen, one of them being acquaint with some honest men that lived thereabout, not knowing where, asked the guide if he knew where they lived, and when there was any preaching; and at last after a little discourse he suspects them, and tells them that there was a minister there on the Sabbath, and if they were honest men and were acquainted with him, he could get intelligence to him; and they promised not to wrong him, and told their names, and the lad went to him, and they staid on horseback untill he came and took them away to the honest man's house, and several there knew them, and staid untill the Sabbath, being the 18 day of May, and went to a preaching appointed be-west Kippen two miles, upon the hill be-west, called Fintry Craigs; where some of the people being met and the rest coming, they sees a party of troopers and soldiers coming towards them, being in number of horse 25, and 50 foot from Stirling; and they expecting that the meeting would be conveened before the party were their length, expecting a great multitude, but the people that was coming saw the party, and they not expecting that the meeting would hold, they went back again; however, the little handful that was met resolved to fight them before they were scattered, being about 24 country lads with guns, and some with forks, and some women.

Two or three of the troupers came first and desired them to dismiss, and they told them they were come there to worship the Lord, who was king and head of his church, and the troupers desired them to dismiss in the name of the king; and they told them that they had a commission from Jesus Christ to come there to worship him who was king of kings, and they would not dismiss, but was resolved to defend the gospel to the shedding of their blood. Then the troupers would fain been away, but there was a wicked loun commanding them and the foot, called Sleeman, commanded them, after

they had turned their backs, to go again, and 12 musketeers to fire on the meeting; and after they fired the honest party fired on them, and wounded two-three of them, and all the rest, both horse and foot, fired a considerable time, and the honest party not having ammunition, yet still fired as long as they had any thing; and at last the troopers went about the back side of the hill, and came up at a pass not expecting it, and fired at some of these 6 horsemen; and then the honest party of the foot not being able to stand any longer, and these 6 horsemen being sundered, three of them being firing above the brea at the troupers, and the rest under the brea, and shot one of the troupers' horse, and wounded a man, and the Lord brought them off without the least wrong: Only John Balfour's horse was shot in the hoof but no worse, and they took only one herd lad and let him go again, for they were ashamed to take him with them; and they five rode only about the hill the matter of a mile and an half, and met with John Balfour by providence, not expecting but he had been killed, but friends took him thro' a moss which the troupers knew not, and they presently came back again to the same place and expected to have kept the meeting, but the minister being gone away, they staid a little and gathered up many of the enemy's ball in the place where they stood, and not so much as one of all the meeting were hurt, only one man was shot thro' the coat, but did not touch his skin, one Robert Rainie and one Donald M'Connell both riding with them six; and they staid thereabout till Tuesday, Mr Riddel keeping another meeting near by, and that night horsed and went to an honest man's house about two miles be-east Campsie, called Mr James ....., and staid all Wednesday; and that night went to Arnbuckle, where they met with horse and foot in arms watching for keeping of a fast on Thursday, 22 of May, which was kept, being a great meeting; and many, both horse and foot, well armed, some having met with 5 or

6 of the king's foot soldiers, for they were lying at Lanrick, took 2 of them and brought them to the meeting, and the rest got away a-foot with speed, but keeping these 2 all day at the meeting, and sent away at night; there preached Mr Cargil, Mr King, and Mr Kidd, and then they sent Mr James Boog, who was at the meeting, presently to Fife for Andrew and Alexander Hendersons and George Flemane, who was hiding themselves at home, having gone openly about their affairs 5 or 6 days after the prelate's death, but then was hiding with great difficulty, for the troupers were searching for them and the soldiers every day, so that they wonderfully escaped being surprised, for Andrew Henderson lay in a little hole, and the troupers and soldiers came to the hole side, but were so restrained of the Lord that they got not leave to look in, for the commander cried to him that was going up and down searching, Are you seeking hens? which word caused him to come away from the place where Andrew was lying, being within his own length to the place where he was, and so escaped, and then went away with his brother Alexander, and lay in a cave at the sea side until Mr James Boog came to them, and they two and George Flemane and Mr James Boog came away to Duplin mill, and from thence to Dumblain, and towards Kilsyth and thence to Arnbuckle, and all the way they were taken for those who had killed the bishop, but the Lord wonderfully carried them through, and they came to the rest, being then in arms, upon the 3d day of June, near Strevan.*

* The plan of an insurrection had been long concerted by the whigs, though bitter schisms among themselves greatly retarded, as at length they rendered it abortive. "There were several well forward sticklers among the people, who stirred much underhand among the commonalty (may be from zeal, doubtless with much precipitancy,) in the West, amusing them with a design to rise in arms, though there was no such joint resolution, for ought I know, either among gentry or ministers, nor the most pious,

The 22d day of May, the meeting at Arnbuckle being ended, the 2 soldiers that was kept went presently to Lanrick to their captain, and told him of the meeting and how good order they were in; and the counsel getting intelligence that they were to keep a communion on the Sabbath, they resolved to send the whole forces to dismiss it, and an alarm comes to-morrow that the Earl of Hume and Clavers,* and 7 company of foot, was come to the west kirk of

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solid, and grave among the yeomen, to my best information. A young gentleman, Robert Hamilton, did mainly concern himself; he, I say, with some others, drew some of the well-meaning people to several meetings in the country, to consult about that affair; then drew on a sort of more general meeting of correspondence from several parts, who met at Edinburgh, and were purposed to essay such a thing the year before Bothwell."—BLACKADDER'S *Memoirs.*

* The following notices respecting Lord Dundee, "the last and best of Scots," are extracted from a very scarce volume, entitled, *A short Account of Scotland, &c. written by the late Reverend Mr* THOMAS MORER, *Minister of St Ann's, within Aldersgate, when he was Chaplain to a Scotch Regiment. Printed at London,* 1715.

"Dundee was by name Graham, and by title Clavers, educated at St Andrews, where, in his minority, he was admired for his parts and respects to church-men, which made him dear to the archbishop of that See, who ever after honour'd and lov'd him. Grown to maturity, he goes to Holland, where he was in the service of the Prince of Orange, but continued not very long upon some disgust there given him. At his return, however, the prince gave him a letter of recommendation, directed to the Duke of York, with a request to provide for him; which accordingly the duke did, by interceding with his brother, King Charles the Second, for an horse-captain's commission in Scotland, where forces were then raising: and 'twas a particular testimony of the king's favour; for tho' he allowed Duke Lauderdale to dispose of the other commissions as he thought good, yet he excepted Mr Graham's, and 'twas the only exception on that occasion. He behaved himself so well in this post, that afterwards some scattered and independent troops being formed into a regiment, Captain Graham was made their colonel, and in progress of time major-general of all the Scotch forces, with which character he came into England at the landing of the prince, 1688. Being found very capable to serve the crown, he was admitted into the privy council, who inlarged his

the Monkland, being at night; they 6 horses with the country men thereabout, both foot and horse, and went to Muffat hills, being near Arnbuckle, and then send out some scouts to try the enemy's motion. The enemys hearing that the whole country was in arms, was

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commission, and gave him power to reduce the West, and make the dissenters comply with the constitution of the church as it then was; which he happily compassed by many struggles, and by laying great fines on 'em, but seldom exacting them with rigour. By King James the Seventh he was made Viscount of Dundee, his seat being near that burrough. And, upon the news of the prince's coming, he was order'd to march with his regiment into England, where he was like to have commanded as eldest major-general, but that the English officers with the same commission would not bear it. He advised K. James to three things; one, to fight the Prince of Orange; another, to go personally to the prince, and demand his business; the last, to make his way into Scotland, upon the coldness he observed in the English army and nation. This advice the king was inclined to take, but that the news of some Scotch peers and gentlemen's hast'ning to London dishearten'd him, who were suspected to favour the prince's design. On the king's departure, he apply'd himself to the prince, with whom he was too free in declaring his thoughts, and therefore could expect no kind reception. Upon this he retired; and hearing of the Scotch Convention, he began his journey to Edinburgh to be present at it. A while he sat at this Convention, but discovering a design in hand to assassinate him, he first complain'd; and the complaint not taking effect, he absented from that meeting; and, at last, with 40 horse (which a little before he commanded, and were resolved to run his fortune,) rid home, having had first some communication with the Duke of Gordon, who, in behalf of King James, commanded the Castle, and would not deliver it up for any proposals made by the Convention. This treating with the Duke of Gordon gave his enemies advantage, who thereupon obtain'd a vote to make him an intercommun'd person, and sent an officer to require him to appear before 'em at Edinburgh. But he excused himself by two reasons; 1st, his own danger; 2dly, the indisposition of his lady, who then lay in, and was also in some danger on the account of labour. Whereupon the Convention proceeds, orders him to be apprehended, and by that means forces him, with his little guard, into the mountains, where the Highlanders flock'd to him in such numbers that at last they became a formidable army: with these he came to Gillicranky; and had he not been there killed, he had been at Edinburgh a few days after.

"He was a gentleman fix'd in his religion, so that King James could not charm him

so afraid that they durst not sunder, tho' there was but the matter of 30 horsemen and about 140 foot, who staid all night in arms at the Muffat hills, and the morning went east about a mile and staid until near night; and their sentries came in and told them that the enemys was all to Lanrick, and only had taken a horse or two, for they were in a great fear; and then they dismissed and went home, appointing a meeting on the Sabbath; but Alex. Ross and Alex. Henderson in Edinburgh came with an alarm from Edinburgh on the Sabbath day of the morning, and told them that the forces was two miles out of the town, a . . . . . coming here to join with the rest, and the honest party considered it and thought it fit to delay

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into any dislike of it; but the more he found it opposed, the more he loved it. He was a great admirer of the church of England worship; and often wished Scotland so happy, that where God is served, the service might be done in some visible instances of reverence, such as are order and decency. He was of deep thought and indefatigable industry, ready to execute what he design'd, and quick in the contrivance as well as the execution of it. He was a man of bravery and courage, and therefore led up all his regiments, which indeed were unwilling to advance without him; yet used the care of a general to expose himself no farther than necessity requires, as being the guide and head of his army. And because he was forced to appear often at the head of each regiment to advise and inspirit 'em, just before the battel he put on a sad colour'd coat over his armour, tho' he appeared in red all the morning before. He seem'd to have no base ends in resisting the present government, but (as he said) for conscience and loyalty-sake. And by virtue of this principle it was, that when he surprised Perth, he suffered not the least violence or damage to be done the town; and finding L.500 in the collector of the revenue's room, besides what belonged to the king, he did not touch it, but said, he intended to rob no man; tho' what was the crown's he thought he might make bold with, seeing what he was then doing was purely to serve his master. He was so great a patron to the clergy, that they could hardly mention him without a tear. His death he took with patience, and had at it a sufficient confidence of the divine favour. For when his favourite, Pitcur, asked him *how he did?* and told him withal how things went, and *that all was well if he were so.* Then *I am well,* said he, and so immediately died."

the meeting; then they horsed with 12 of the countrey men and rode away towards Strevan, where there was a meeting within a mile, Mr Douglas preaching, where they met with Mr Hamilton, Mr Cleland, and several others, who were in very good order, considerable in number of horse and foot, who was still expecting the enemy that night. William Danziel and James Russell and George Balfour met about 2 miles west from Strevan, and staid 2 days; Mr Hamilton, Rathillet, John Balfour, went on Monday to Glasgow to meet with Mr Cargill* and Mr John Sprewl, and advised about gi-

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* "The Life and Prophecies of that faithful Minister of God's Word, Mr Donald Cargill," were compiled by Peter Walker, a historian well suited to his hero, being a sort of pedlar, who wandered through Scotland, vending his wares, and collecting anecdotes of the presbyterian *sufferers*. His shop was in the West-Bow of Edinburgh, long noted for a colony of whigs, doubtless originally planted there by Major Weir, who resided in that street. At the Torwood, in Stirlingshire, (1680,) Cargill had the audacity to excommunicate the king, the Dukes of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, king's advocate, and General Dalyell. He made many wonderful escapes from apprehension, more especially at the Queensferry, where he was rescued by a rabble of pious women, and got off with a broken head only; at length he was seized by Irvine of Bonshaw at Covington-Mill, and carried to Glasgow. "When they came near the city, they turned him upon the horse, and led him backward; which made many to weep, to see their old minister in that posture, he being for some years settled minister in the Barony Kirk; and some wicked, to rejoice. When they came to the Tolbooth, they halted until the magistrates came to receive them. John Nisbet, Bishop Paterson of Glasgow's factor, looking over the stair, out of his great wickedness merrily said, Mr Cargill (three times over in sport) in effect, will you not give us one word more? This he said because Mr Cargill in public sometimes said, In effect we will say that one word, or, I have one word more to say. Mr Cargill looked to him, and with concernedness said, Wicked poor man, why do ye mock? ere you die, you will desire one word, and will not get it. Shortly thereafter he was struck dumb, his tongue swelling in his mouth." CARGILL'S *Life*.—See also Wodrow for the same story.—Lord Fountainhall, in his MS. Journal, thus mentions Mr Donald's catastrophe. "Mr Donald Cargill, a presbyterian preacher, who had excommunicate the king, was apprehended at Covington-Mill, near Lanerk, with two of his associates, Smith and Boig,

ving a testimony against the anniversary day, and returned, appointing a meeting to be about a mile be-north-west from Strevan on the 29th of May, being Thursday, where met a considerable party, but not the half that was expected, not getting warning. The meeting being ended and dismissed, the horsemen being drawn up, and being about 50 or 60 horse, Mr Hamilton read over the testimony to them, and desired all that was willing to go with him, and those that was not willing to go and offer themselves to go their way; but all being overjoyed at the motion, went away; and about half an hour before the sun, or one hour at most, came to Rutherglen, and thinking to have gone to Glasgow, but the whole forces being in arms at the end of the town, turned into Rutherglen, and caused put out all the fires that was burning on the streets, and then drew up round about the cross in order, called for the magistrates, and then sent William Danziel and James Russell to be sentry at the bridge of Glasgow, who saw the forces all the time, and was within little more than musquit shot of them; and they lighted and gave their horse a beat of corn near the bridge, and a little refreshment theirselves; and when they were called in they fired two pistols, and came their way.

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13 July, 1681; and upon the 26 ditto, he, Mr Walter Smith, Mr James Boig, with Cuthil and Thomson, were hanged at Edinburgh Cross. They disowned the king, calling him tyrant, and to save their lives they refused to say God save him. Cargill behaved most timerously, begged banishment, but finding that could not be granted, he put on more resolution after his sentence."—Alexander Peden, in a sermon on the text, *Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet*, thus canonizes Cargill. "O sirs! Christ had a wheen noble worthies in Scotland not long ago, that set the trumpet to their mouth, and gave fair warning in his name; he had a Welch, a Cameron, a Cargill, and a Wallwood, a noble party of them proclaiming his name in Scotland. O sirs! if ye could be admitted to see and speak to them, they would tell you that it is nothing to suffer for Christ; they are all glancing in glorie now; they would flee you out of your wits to behold them, with these white robes, and glorious crowns, and palms in their hands."

In this time, first Mr Duglass spake a little, and prayed and singing and speaking a little, Mr Hamilton reading all the wicked acts that was against the liberty of the kirk of Scotland, and speaking a little to the people, caused fix a copy of the testimony to the Cross, and brunt them in the fire publicly, and they came all away to the bridge of Glasgow, where retiring a little of the way, dismissed every one to their own homes most composedly; and these Fife men went to Eaglesham with Mr Hamilton; and having rested a while in the morning, there came in word to their quarters that the troupers had been within half a mile and less of them presently, but the Lord so restrained them that they came not where they were, tho' they were all scattered in several houses, and being suspected too. About ten hours of the day they horsed and went all to two-three houses near Newmilns, be-west Loudon hill about a mile, and staid till Saturday at night: when going to bed, the alarm comes that Clavers was rindging all the country for them; they presently horsed, and met altogether in the house where the minister and Mr Hamilton was; and the honest people gathered to them and staid there all night, and in the morning they resolved to keep the meeting in the place appointed; and presently getting intelligence that Clavers had taken Mr King and 18 prisoners with him, and had them all bound on horse bare backs like beasts;* in a little came

* King for nine years had been troublesome to government, preaching sedition at very many conventicles with great cunning and perseverance. He was chaplain to Lord Cardross, and, according to Captain Creichton, debauched Lady Cardross's favourite waiting maid, who proved with child by him. He is described as "a bra muckle carle, wi' a white hat, and a great bob o' ribbons on the cock o't."—When Claverhouse was routed at Drumclog, he fled past his triumphant prisoner, who had been stationed in a small cabin on Loudon hill, with a dragoon sentry to prevent his escape; King shouted after him to stop, and take the afternoon's preaching. Being again apprehended after the defeat at Bothwell, he made no scruple to deny his guilt,

Hendry Hall, and Thomas Weir in Commerhead, and his brother, who had been at Mr Welch, dealing with him to preach against the indulgence, but did not prevail, and regretted it very sore; and then Mr Cleland* came, and some with him, from Lesmehagow,

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declaring in his petition to the privy council for mercy, "that his being in company with the rebels did proceed from no rebellious principles; but being taken prisoner by Claverhouse, he ordered him to be bound in cords, and after that Claverhouse and his party had retired from Loudon-Hill, he was found by the rebells in that posture, and detained almost still a prisoner by them untill the defeat, and not suffered to go from them, so that in effect he was always in the quality of prisoner. During the time he was with them, he not only refused to preach, but he was so far from encouraging them to rebellion, that *he made it his work to persuade them to return to their former loyalty and obedience;* and, *de facto,* persuaded severals to go from them and desert them. Albeit he had sometimes a sword about him, yet he never offered to make use of the same directly or indirectly, or to make any resistance to authority; and he only carried a sword to disguise himself, that he might not be taken for a preacher; and he did make his escape before the engagement."

* A volume of Colonel William Cleland's poems was published in 1697; and is now scarce, having never been reprinted. It would exceedingly puzzle a critic to decide whether he or Colvill composed the more wretched trash, in their presumptuous imitations of Hudibras. Cleland observes, that to describe the Highland Host surpasses the art

> "Of Lucan, Virgil, or of Horace,
> Of Ovid, Homer, or of *Floras!*"

This covenanting hero also dealt in Elegy and Song. Of his elegiac powers, a specimen has already been given, to which may be added the following extracts from Verses on Thomas Ker of Hayhope, a whig gentleman, killed at Crookham by a party commanded by Colonel Struthers, 1678.

> "Come, let us meet with tears; this fate allows;
> You lofty heavens, contract your clowdy brows,
> Turn vapours into tears, that we with you
> May mourn and mourn again, since it is true

and meeting at the place appointed before the ordinary time of day, resolving to go to rescue the prisoners, if the Lord should enable them; and sending away to warn some men in Lesmehagow to meet them at Loudon hill; and the people about Kilmarnock hearing tell of Clavers, did not come the sixth man that was expected, for there was to have been a very great meeting; notwithstanding, they being met resolved to offer themselves, knowing that the Lord could save as well with few as with many; and the minister praying and after spake a little, and then laid out the case to the people, and many of them was willing to offer themselves, for Clavers had gotten a commission to kill all whomsoever he got either coming or going, or at a preaching, or made any resistance. They being about 50 horse and about as many guns, and about 150 with forks and halberts, and marching towards them, desired all that was not willing to offer themselves to go away; but men and women that had nothing to pursue nor yet to defend went, there was such a spirit given from the Lord; and half a mile be-west Drumclog,

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That he is torn from us by rapid fate,
By so perfidious hands, at such a rate!—
O heavens, O earth, O floods, O roaring seas,
Ye lofty mountains, groves, and stately trees,
Ye rampant lions, and ye savage bears,
Ye cruel tigers, all burst forth in tears."

Ex ungue leonem. Cleland's Song, entitled, "Hollo, my Fancy," is the most tolerable of his effusions, though greatly inferior to the poem of which it is an imitation. He was killed 21st August, 1689, in the church-yard of Dunkeld, which his regiment defended against a body of Highlanders. It is said that his son, or grandson, was the author of an infamous book but too well known; his son certainly wrote the letter prefixed to Pope's Dunciad. The most useful, and perhaps ingenious publication which has appeared under the name of Cleland, is Mrs Cleland's Book of Cookery.

there came a few of those men that was sent for from Lesmehagow, and then seeing Clavers with his troup of horse and two companies of dragoons, never fearing, but went forward, and drew up all in a body, and then prayed and sang; Clavers coming fiercely forward, and gave his men that word, No quarter! resolving to cut off every man; and one Grahame, that same morning in Strevan his dog was leaping upon him for meat, and he said he would give him none, but he should fill himself of the whigs' blood and flesh or night; but instead of that, his dog was seen eating his own thrapple, (for he was killed,) by several; and particularly James Russell, after the pursuit, coming back to his dear friend James Dungel,* who was sorely wounded, asked at some women and men who it was; they told that it was that Graham, and afterward they got certain word what he said to his dog in Strevan.†

The commanders was Robert Hamilton, Robert Fleman, Rathillet, John Balfour, William Cleland, Hendry Hall, and John Loudon: William Cleland and some others commanded the foot. Clavers commanded off two first to view the ground, and then came himself, as they that had seen him before said; but there was a great gutter like a stank; being no way to get about it, he commanded off first 12 well-mounted troupers or dragoons, for they

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* Sic, in MS.

† Robert Grahame, cornet to Claverhouse, was slain by a musket-shot from one John Alstoun, a miller's son, and tennant of Weir of Blackwood. WODROW, *vol. II. p.* 293.—"The rebels," says Creichton, "finding the cornet's body, and supposing it to be that of Clavers, because the name of Grahame was wrought in the shirt-neck, treated it with the utmost inhumanity; cutting off the nose, picking out the eyes, and stabbing it through in a hundred places." Guild, in his *Bellum Bothuellianum*, mentions the same barbarity; but from Russell's narrative, it is to be hoped, that the mangling of Grahame's corpse should not altogether be attributed to the beastly fury of the Covenanters.

were not well known, being all so well mounted, to fire on the honest party; and the honest party sent out other twelve, which was Thomas Weir in Cummerhead, and Mr. Walter Smith, and William Danziel, and James Russell, not minding the rest's names: but these 12 being best mounted both of horse and arms, marched forward and fired each at other; but none falling on either side, Clavers' men retired, and the honest party retired back to the body, being pistol-shot long from that body; and Clavers commanded other 12 off to fire, and they same that had been before off firing of the honest party went again, and fired as before, but none fell of either side: Could not tell if there was any wounded of Clavers' men, but no wounds was among the honest party retiring. Clavers commanded other 12 off to fire, and they same that had been before two times went again, with John Balfour and six footmen with guns, and fired both sides, but none fell except one of Clavers' men fell off the horse; whether he was mortally wounded they could not tell, but he rose with great difficulty. Then Clavers commanded the matter of thirty dragoons to light and give fire. William Cleland, with the matter of 12 or 16 foot with guns, and the matter of 20 or 24 with pikes and forks and halberts, advanced and fired on them, and after they had all fired he ran forward alone, and fired a gun and killed one of the dragoons, as these that looked on said, being the first that was killed of either side; and in the wheeling of the honest party there was another party of dragoons that fired, and killed one of the honest party. Presently Clavers advanced all in a body to the stank bree, when he was within shot of the honest party, and fired desperately; and the honest party having but few guns, was not able to stand, and being very confused in the coming off of the last party, cried all out, For the Lord's sake, go on! and immediately they ran violently forward, and Clavers was tooming the shot all the time on them; but the

honest party's right hand of the foot being nearest, Cleland went on on Clavers' left flank, and all the body went on together for against Clavers' body, and Cleland stood until the honest party was joined among them both with pikes and swords; and William Danziel and Thomas Weir being upon the right hand of the honest party, all the forenamed who fired thrice before being together, and loupping owr the gett among the enemys, William Danziel received his wound; his horse being dung back by the strength of the enemy, fell over, and dang over James Russell's horse, being upon his right hand, and James presently rose and mounted and pursued, calling to a woman to take up his dear friend William Danziel, (for the women ran as fast as the men,) and she did so. Thomas Weir rode in amongst them and took a standard, and he was mortally wounded and knocked on the head, but pursued as long as he was able, and then fell. The honest party pursued as long as their horse would trot, being upward of two miles. There was of the enemy killed 36 dead on the ground, and by the way in the pursuit, as it was certified by these who told them that same night, and there was only 5 or 6 of the honest party, and only 3 dead, for Thomas Weir lived 3 days, and William Danziel lived more than 24 hours after.* He was in a rapture of joy all that day,

* During the engagement, one of the parishioners of Evandale, concealing himself behind a hillock, fired eight shots at Claverhouse, but none of his balls had any effect, (*Statistical Account of Evandale,*) owing, no doubt, to the spells with which he was protected. After the skirmish, Robert Hamilton slaughtered one of the prisoners in cold blood, and seems to have regretted all his life that five more did not share the same fate. In his Letter of Self-vindication to the Anti-popish, Anti-prelatick, Anti-erastian, Anti-sectarian, true Presbyterian Remnant of the Church of Scotland, (1684,) he says, " as for that accusation they bring against me, of killing that poor man (as they call him) at Drumclog; I may easily guess that my accusers cannot be other but some of the house of Saul or Shemei, or some such risen again to espouse that poor gentle-

and it was put on him to pray with that twelfe that charged the enemys thrice; and he was ravished with joy, and freely offered himself in prayer to seal the truth, but especially the controverted truth, with his blood, and after prayer he was made to praise in the time of action; and when he was had into a house at the place, he was made to praise the Lord that he had accepted of his offer; and when James Russell came back as fast as he could ride from the pursuit of the enemy, he asked at him how he was, and speired and said, Dear brother Will, ye many times told me ye was sure enough of heaven; have ye any doubts now? He scarcely could speak, but said, No doubts, but fully assured—fully assured; and on Monday before he died all pain left him, and then he began and exhorted all present to beware of meddling with that woful indulgence, and then fell out a praising of God, that had honoured him to witness against all the abominations, but especially that woful indulgence, and to seal it with his blood: and Thomas Weir likewise said many things to this purpose; they both spake to the astonishment of all beholders, so that these that never saw William

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man's (*Saul*) his quarrel against honest Samuel, for his offering to kill that poor man Agag, after the king's giving him quarters. But I, being called to command that day, gave out the word that *no quarter should be given;* and returning from pursuing Claverhouse, one or two of these fellows were standing in the midst of a company of our friends, and some were debating for quarters, others against it. None could blame me to decide the controversy, *and I bless the Lord for it to this day.* There were five more, that without my knowledge got quarters, who were brought to me after we were a mile from the place, as having got quarters—which I reckoned among the first steppings aside; and seeing that spirit amongst us at that time, I then told it to some that were with me (to my best remembrance it was honest old John Nisbet) that I feared the Lord would not honour us to do much for him. I shall only say this;—I desire to bless his holy name, that since ever he helped me to set my face to his work, I never had, nor would take a favour from enemies, either on right or left hand, and desired to give as few."

Danziel before wept so much, that at his grave, in Strevan kirk-yeard, they sat down and wept before all the people, for he was buried at Strevan on Tuesday, being the 3d of June, 1679.*

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* After the Revolution, a grave-stone and epitaph were bestowed upon Dingwall by his friends; the epitaph begins thus: "This hero brave who here doth ly."—At the conclusion of the Cloud of Witnesses the whole may be seen, as also much doggrel on other presbyterian martyrs, of which the epitaph made by Captain Creichton's friends on David Steel is not at all a burlesque;—

"Here lies the body of Saint Steele,
Murdered by John Creichton, that deel."

Upon the grave-stone of the martyrs buried at Mauchline, we find:

"Bloody Dumbarton, Douglas, and Dundee,
Moved by the devil and the Laird of Lee,
Drag'd these five men to death."

Of James White we are told:

"This martyr was by Peter Inglis shot,
By birth a tiger rather than a Scot," &c.

The inscription on the tombstone of James Nisbet, James Lawson, and Alexander Wood, buried at the gallows foot at Glasgow, runs thus:—

"Here lie martyrs three,
Of memory,
Who for the covenants did die;
And witness is
'Gainst all these nation's perjury."

For the prototype and essence of all these elegies and epitaphs, see, at the end of *Satyre Menippée, Regret Funebre, a Mademoiselle ma Commere sur le trespas de son Asne Ligueur—on le fit mourir en la fleur de son âge le mardy*, 28 *d'Aoust*. 1590.

On Sabbath after the pursuit they went all to Strevan and refreshed themselves, and went to Hamilton all night, resolving still to pursue, expecting no quarters from the enemy if they should dismiss, but waiting on Thomas Weir of Greenrige, who was coming with a great body of foot and horse, and being come, he was desired to give satisfaction for being at Pentland, or else they could not join with him. He delayed it until ministers came in; and when come, they were so far from desiring him that they dissuaded him not to do it, saying that it was enough that he was offering himself: which time the enemy got intelligence that they were coming to Glasgow, and they fortified themselves with carts and stones, being terribly feared. The honest party coming to Glasgow on Monday about 12 hours of the day, and entering in on the east and north side of the town, and running furiously toward the enemy, and received their fire and immediately fired, and firing several times on both sides, was forced to retreat, they being so well fortified, having lost four or five men only; for the enemys being so feared, shot out owr their heads, saving themselves with their baracadoes; and having retired, rallied be-east the town about a mile, being thrice as many of the enemy killed; and many left the honest party, but drew up on Towcross moor; and the enemy seeing so few that staid, followed them with all their forces; and the honest party not being able to fly, being sorely distressed for want of rest, so that their horses was not able to trot, they resolved to stand and fight; and John Balfour, with 6 horse and 6 foot, advanced towards the enemy, being a small party foremost, retired; and all their body advancing, Rathillet, with the matter of 30 or 40 horse, advanced with John Balfour toward the enemy. The enemy seeing, presently retired in to Glasgow, and they to their own body, not being able to pursue, but retired to Hamilton that night, keeping guard at Bothwell Bridge and other places all night, having taken several

horses that night, and in the morning retired about two miles south from Hamilton, going to a counsel anent the taking in of persons to take charge, being afraid to join with those who were guilty of public sins of the time, for which God was contending against the land, as blood-shed, giving bonds, and taking unlawful oaths, and paying of cess, for paying of such as was bearing down the Lord's work and joining with the indulgence, and other sins, so that they durst not join with any that had been guilty of them without repentance and public confession.

This bred a great stir, for one Thomas Weir, who was at Pentland, refused to give satisfaction, tho' he knew that it would hinder others likewise; but he leaving them, and others went away with him, and the enemy approaching towards them at Bothwell Bridge, Rathillet, with a party of 26 horsemen, advanced to Hamilton Moor; and getting notice of the enemy being at the bridge in a bush waiting for him and an small party, retired, thinking to entrap him, which he seeing, retired to the body, but sent to see what to do and for moe men. They were all in a confusion, so that he got no men; but fearing lest the enemy should have advanced and disordered them altogether, staid opposite to the enemy's face, then following and advancing towards him; and upon John Balfour's coming to him with 12 moe horse, and told him the army was marching towards Strevan, and then he retired, leaving and sending out scouts. The enemys retired to Glasgow and he to Strevan, where he found George Fleman, Andrew Henderson, and Alexander Henderson, and Mr John Balfour, being presently come, who related that the whole shire of Fife, all above sixteen years of age, had compeared and cleared themselves of the bishop's death, who was buried the day of May, to whose burial came the most of the nobility and gentry, where they appointed new diets of meeting for discovering of the actors at the several presbyteries, viz. at St

Andrews the 21 and 22, at Cupar the 23, at Kirkcaldy the 27 and 28, at Dunfermling the 30 and 31, advertisement being given at the kirk doors the Sabbath preceding; whereupon the whole presbyterians of the shire compeared and cleared themselves, except some here and there, whose number amounted to 44 thousand, as was certified.* The actors then being discovered, great search was made,

* After Sharp's murder, the heads of his party took every measure to ascertain the actors of that atrocious crime, not only for the sake of justice, but to secure their own personal safety. The following remarkable letter, addressed to the Earl of Linlithgow, and printed from the original MS., shows the ferocious temper of the whigs, and in what jeopardy the principal loyalists then stood. It is written in a fair hand, on paper with gilt edges, and concludes with a mark, by way of signature, somewhat like a wheel.

My Lord,

"I might have sent to your lordship sure intelligence off sundry things wherein your lordship might have been verie servisable to the king's interest, iff the counsell had allowed money, and I know I might have engadged both ane expectant of the phanatick partie and one of the preachers to have been intelligencers: bot the publick affaires of the land are in a verie lamentable condition by the sparing of expences, and will be so more and more if another course be not taken to prevent it, seeing there are three conventikel preachers already taken, for whom nothing hath been given, besydes Mr Law. If I had had money, much more might have been doon at the last search, bot what difficulty I had to accomplish what was doon I shall now forber to mention. My Lord, I doubt not bot your lordship knows what a partie most horridlie bloodie are the followers of Cameron, and some other five or sex preachers, who are, I can assure your lordship, for I have good intelligence thereof, not only for private murthering by the sword, but to cutt off by fire, by poyson, and all uther wayes can be invented; and sundrie have come over out of Fife, and hath joyned with them. I have been instrumentall, what I can, by proposing contrivances to such phanaticks who hate them, to hinder ther number to incress, and to divert some from them, bot I am disabled to do what I wold by having nothing allowed for careing letters through the cuntrie, and for uther things requisite. I have spent so much of my oune money that way, that I am now necessistat to forbear. I entreat your lordship be carefull of your self, and

and they . . . . . wonderfully escaped, and on the 30 of May took journey to Duplin mill, where Mr Walter Denune preached; and being alarm'd of 15 troupers that was pursuing them, so that night at 11 hours they took journey, coming through all these enemys, where all Fife men was broken who had so compeared and cleared themselves of the bishop's death. Being come, Rathillet being cap-

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doe not travell abroad without a considerable guard; the spirit of cruelty is raging in these Cameronians. Ther cam a partie, I suspect, from Fife, upon Friday was eight days, airlie in the morning, and lurked in the Langsyde Wood till Saturday afternoon; whether they had a designe for your lordship, iff they had got intelligence of your coming home that way, I kno not; bot it has bein, no doubt, upon some bad designe they lurked ther so long. My lord, I am informed, yea, from a conventicle preacher who was present, that there was a conventicle of the Cameronians in the parish of Evindaill the last Sabbath, guarded with about 500 footmen, and ner 200 horsmen; and that they made use of a peace of ground naturallie fortified. I kno if your lordship got orders, ye had crushed that partie or now. We have had thir conventickles so often tymes within four, sometymes withine eight myles of Lanerick, I understand not how that partie is so much spared, being most bloodie, and if ther be not another course taken quicklie, I have to much ground to apprehend that men's ears shall be filled with the reports of maney and most horrid murders committed by ther emissaries. If the counsell would give money, I kno whom I could employ to travell through Clydesdale, and would give exact intelligence, bot I fear the not allowing of it will be the ruine of this land. Not doubting bot your lordship will keep me still close,

"I am."

The principles of assassination being so strongly recommended in *Napthali*, *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, and afterwards in the *Hind let Loose*, which books were in almost as much esteem with the presbyterians as their Bibles, (though Dr Rule, in his Answer to the Presbyterian Eloquence, denies it;) it is wonderful enough that more assassinations were not committed during those intemperate times. The most signal murder, after the archbishop's, was that of Mr Pierson, curate of Carsphairn, whose house being beset in the night by a band of whigs, who knocked at the door, he arose from his bed, and on going out, was immediately shot dead by one of the ruffians. There were in all about thirteen soldiers assassinated by the *suffering Remnant*.

tain, John Russell, lieutenant, and George Fleman, quartermaster, Andrew Henderson and Alexander Henderson, corporals, and that night the army quartered about Strevan; and the next morning being alarmed, (tho' falsely,) rendezvoused at a place called Kips, be-south Strevan; and so marching that day, being the 4 of June, through Strevan, and quartering betwixt it and Kilbride the Thursday, they rendezvoused and marched to Commissar Fleming's park, where they quartered that night, and about it. On Saturday they kept a counsel of war, and choosed officers and a clerk, and concluded that none gullty of the public sins of the time should be taken into them without public satisfaction; but some desired the publication thereof might be forborn, which was Birkhill and some others. Hall and Smith, and some others, protested for the proclaimed, but it was not proclaimed. On Friday the 6th they rendezvoused; and still increasing, being near six thousand, marched toward Glasgow, resolving to search it for arms. The enemys not being far from Glasgow, but so many wanting arms was willing to venture, they choosed out about 300 foot, William Cleland commander, and 80 horse, with John Balfour, both under command of one Brown, an old soldier, to go to search Glasgow; when within a mile, was alarmed that the enemy was on the east of it entering the town, which news discouraged Brown, so that he refused to go further; whereupon John Balfour, with the rest of the Fife men, went alone, and one ..... with them, and entered the town, being only John Balfour, George Fleman, and Alexander Henderson, and George Balfour, and James Russell, and Rathillet, and Andrew Henderson, was with the troop, friends still dissuading because of the hazard; but going still forward, and sent back word to the rest to come forward, Robert Hamilton and Rathillet and William Cleland coming and drawing up at the tolbooth, and the commanded party still riding for waiting the enemy's motion, who seeing that

party, retired eastward towards Stirling, but being lying with the body at Kirkintilloch, and being so frighted left their cannon, which they sent for the next day, still retiring till they were at Edinburgh.

The Laird of Barscob* came to the army at Glasgow, and went away to bring their friends in Galloway, for there was a short declaration proclaimed over the Tolbooth stair against all the sins of the time, and defections, supremacy, and all flowing from it; and that night marching out of the town to the body, for they were drawn up about a mile off the town, and then marched 3 or 4 miles south and quartered, and on Saturday marched within a mile of Glasgow and rendezvoused, whose number was about six thousand, all unanimous for owning the Rutherglen Testimony and that Glasgow Declaration.

At this day's counsel of war came Birkhill and John Dick, with news of Mr Welch coming with the forces of Carrick. There was instructions for the army drawn up and given to be published, but

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* It is probable that this was that Laird of Barscob, afterwards murdered by some high-flyers of his own party. "Nov. 1683, some of these men of the wild principles go into the house of Barscobe, a gentleman in Galloway, who had been of a long time a prisoner for joyning with the men at Pentland Hills, and got free upon his taking of the bond of peace, (which thing incensed them) and strangles him in his own house." *The Rev. Robert Law's Memorialls of remarkable Things in his Time, MS.*—These enthusiasts were very ready to dispatch persons of their own principles when they chanced to differ from them in opinion as to some trifling points. Robert Hamilton, in his Letter to the Society, mentions "a company, who, after the break at Bothwell, sat down in the Old Clachan of Galloway, and plotted and determined to take away my life, for my contending with Mr John Welch, and those gentlemen he brought with him, and my opposing and disowning of Hamilton Declaration; and after the Lord wonderfully disappointed them by discovering their design, yet again met, and wrote a letter," &c. —*Faithful Contendings, p.* 188.

some desired forbearance lest offence should be taken, while others, fearing the rotten-hearted that was coming with Mr Welch, was the more for publishing, not willing to forbear duty for any; the leaders was Robert Hamilton, Hendry Hall, John Patton, William and James Carmichels, Rathillet, John Balfour, James Henderson, William Cleland, Mr William Smith, and others; and preachers, Mr Cargill, Mr King, Mr Duglas. At this time came Mr Welch with the Carrick forces, which were about 140 horses, and the young Laird of Blachan upon their head, and about 300 foot, with whom was Mr George Barkly; and hearing that Mr Welch was joining with all sort of indulged folk, kept at a distance that night, and quartered about Rutherglen, and..... that night, and Mr Welch in Glasgow with his party; and on the Sabbath the army conveened at Rutherglen with all the ministers, where they contraverted about preaching, for these officers that the Lord had honoured to bring the work that length, opposed any that would not be faithful and declare against all the defections of the time; but ministers taking on them to agree these, they preached at 3 several places; the one party preached against all the defections and encroachments upon the prerogatives of Jesus Christ, Mr Welch and his party preached up the subjects' allegiance to the magistrate.* These

* This was in a very different strain from Mr Welch's usual doctrine, and much unlike his practice. For he had long set every magistrate in Scotland at defiance, riding about in stately fashion to his conventicles, with a party of armed men, who went under the name of Mr Welch's body guard; from a passage in the Justiciary Record, as quoted by Wodrow, we learn the pay and accoutrements of these satellites. "May 12, 1679, John Scarlet, tinker, being examined by the lords of justiciary, declares, that in summer, 1674, the declarant did take on to serve with Mr John Welch, and was to have twelve pounds in the half-year, and clothes; that he had a horse from him, with a sword and pistols, upon which he rode; and that he was but with him a fortnight," &c.—This Scarlet, who had six or seven women whom he termed his wives,

things gave great offence on all hands, for such as adhered to the former testimonies found that a step of defection if they should join with it, and these which favoured the king's interest and indulgence were likewise displeased; and that day Mr Hall, Rathillet, Carmichel, Mr Smith, was commanded out to Campsie, the militia being rendezvousing there, to scatter them, whether designedly or not we cannot tell, for they were all honest and strangers. However, there began strife and debate thro' all the army, the one

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who travelled about the country with him, was suspected to have had a hand in the murder of two soldiers at Newmills, the circumstances of which are thus narrated by Wodrow. "Three foot soldiers of Captain Maitland's company had been sent to quarter upon a countryman near Lowdon-hill, because he had not paid the cess; they continued there near ten days; the man in the house being sick, *they were not altogether so outragious as many of their gang at this time used to be.* The wife, or woman servant, had during that time threatned them, that if they left not the house they might come to repent it; but they were not much careful about that, and answered, they came by orders, and behoved either to have their errand, or orders to go away. One of the three went down to Newmills upon Saturday, and staid all night, whether he was any way conscious to the design, or only affrighted by the warning, was not known. But upon Sabbath morning, April 20, five horsemen, and about as many foot, came about two of the clock in the morning, and rudely knockt at the barn-door where the remaining two soldiers were lying. They taking it to be their comrade come from Newmills, one of them rose in his shirt, and opened the door: he was saluted with reproachful words, *Come out, you damn'd rogues*, and was shot through the body, and fell down dead without speaking one word. The other got up upon this to put to the door, and received a shot in the thigh from the same hand. The assassine alighted from his horse, and came in upon the soldier, who grappled a little with him, till another came up and knocked him down. He was perfectly dammished with the stroke; and when he recovered his senses, he thought it convenient to ly in the place as dead. The murderers came into the barn, and took away the soldier's arms and clothes, and in a little went off. This soldier lived to the Friday or Saturday after, and then died of his wounds." WODROW's *Hist. vol. II. p.* 25.—N. B. Wodrow does not mention a report, very prevalent at the time, that the murderers committed this crime as a preparative to the enjoyment of a field-conventicle, whither they were bound that morning.

party pleading the Lord's interest, and the other the king's and their own, and cried out against the honest party as fastious and seditious.

On Monday the 9 of June (for the foot marched to Glasgow and quartered that night) there was a counsel of war called in an house in Glasgow, where the debates was increased, the one party protesting that all the defections should be declared against, a declaration to this purpose produced, and against the taking in of persons guilty to the places of trust or to vote in counsel, without the acknowledgement thereof, which had been the method that they had walked in, and had been owned of God while they did so; but being opposed by the other party, Mr Welch and Mr Hume, who said their personal appearance for the cause was enough; they likewise mentioned a letter-writing to the gentlemen to invite them to come out and help, but this opposed by the honest party, fearing the effects that after came to pass; for these gentlemen whom they would have written for, sent letters to the counsel a little before for presbyterial preachers, and promised to acknowledge their supremacy, and to quite extinguish and extirpate field meetings; and this being known to many in the army, debates still growing greater, occasioned the going away of many of the godly that durst not venture to join with them, and broke the spirits of others who staid. That night the foot staid at Glasgow, and the horses went to places three or four miles round about because of the enemy.

On Thursday the 10th we were at Glasgow all day, these things still debated. The honest party proved that the indulgence was a homologating of the supremacy in the hands of these who had usurped it from Jesus Christ, to whom it belongs: the other party crying out, Would they cast off Mr Welch, and all the ministers except a few? This night the army marched to Towcross; the foot, with some of the horse, lay in the park, the rest of the horse

in places about, leaving all the ministers except Duglass to consult anent these affairs. On Wednesday morning, some officers going in to Glasgow learned that the ministers had written a letter, inviting all gentlemen and others who was seeking a new indulgence, to which Mr Cargil had sided, they promising to consent to his desires afterward; which, when these officers objected against as a falling back and a joining again with these in that sin for which God had separate him and countenanced them while faithful in declaring against it, it was answered by these ministers, that if they would not yield to these things they would take the leading of that army off their hands, and get fitter persons for that effect; which answer was very acceptable to many, finding that many godly withdrew, and that many of the new incomers through that door (venturing their lives is a sufficient satisfaction for all sins) were men both of corrupt principles, ignorant of the Lord's matters, for which the godly was contending, and loose in their practice, especially Carrick men that came with Mr Welch; for where they quartered in godly houses there was many complaints given of them, so that troupers and soldiers did not exceed them, which was the mean that kept these officers together, expecting to get this excuse to leave them.* The chief men that carried on this was Thomas Weir of Greenrige, Mr Ure of Shirgaton, and James Carmichel (a young man), Blachane, and some others, with the ministers who came in on Wednesday.

The army marched to Hamilton, where quartered the foot in the

* This is a grievous accusation of theft and robbery, only paralleled by Sir James Turner's Account of the Conduct of the Insurgents routed at Pentland. He affirms, that on their march they took free quarters every where, saying they would *pay when they returned;* and at Douglas stole a silver spoon and a night-gown on the Sabbath, plundering and exercising their troops during the whole of that day.

park and some horse also, and some horse in places about. On Thursday a counsel of war was called, at which there was a draught of a declaration from Mr Welch and that party, which did not relish with the other party; there was also the draught of one produced by Mr Cargil, which Mr Welch and that party did contradict; and the difference betwixt parties was, the honest party would had a day of humiliation, but Mr Welch' party and himself objected and opposed it, and would have every thing forborn that irritate the wildest of wretches, tho' it was as clear as the light of the day, according to the example of our forefathers and the scriptures, that which that poor party was seeking.

This occasioned great differences; but coming to a vote in the counsel of war, it was carried that all these defections should be named, name and thing; after which Mr Welch and Mr Hume, and that party, ever after shunned this day of humiliation. At this counsel one Watson, a flesher in Glasgow, was ordained to be shot for murdering one of their brethren, which sentence, tho' past with the whole consent of the counsel of war as a thing sufficiently proven, was much cried out on by Mr Welch and his party, and pressed to have him sent to the magistrates of Glasgow with his dittay, which was this murder and confession.....* upon the sentence past against him, at which the rest of the officers was offended, knowing that the magistrates of Glasgow would have let him go as a good subject to his majesty; but he was shot, and another's ear nailed to the gallows, for abusing and taking of money from inhabitants in Glasgow.

On Friday morning, being alarmed (tho' falsely) with the news of the enemy's approach, Mr Welch and Mr Hume pressed the reading of the declaration, which being stopt, they charged them that

* *Scelus nefandum cum vacca.*

opposed it as guilty of the blood ..... these men being hinderers of such as would come to help their brethren; whereupon they called together some of the officers with Mr King, and, reading over the declaration, pressed for giving satisfaction to such as they said would not join until they saw a declaration, and that it might be proclaimed. It was greatly objected against it, that it took only in the third article of the covenant, concerning the king's defence and his right, (and why not the whole?) and the acknowledgement of sins and engagements to dutys, without which they would not consent to the publishing of it. It was answered, that it was already spread, and could not be altered, tho' this was enough to have opposed it, it being done without consent of the counsel of war; yet upon persuasion of some that pressed much for peace, and Mr Welch and Mr Hume's promise that Mr King should publish it, and that they should not print it till altered, and such things as they desired put into it, and that afterward they should be faithful in testifying against all the defections of the time, particularly the indulgence, it was condescended to; but still some protested against it, and the most part of those officers that was faithful being absent; but Mr Welch and Hume kept none of their promises, but presently upon this liberty granted went to Hamilton Cross, and there cried up the king's right and prerogative as a lawful magistrate, and passed by all the sins of the time, except prelacy, which grieved the spirits of all these who adhered to Rutherglen testimony, and that they should have yielded to them herein, finding them now so far contrary to promise.

Mr Hackstone of Rathillet witnessed against it, fearing the sad effects which indeed followed; and Robert Fleman, who from the beginning had kept straight, was led aside by these ministers; and some others, without the knowledge of the other party, and contrary to promise, went to Glasgow and caused print it, and publicly

spread it through all the country, whereby they opened a door to all persons to join with them, and caused godly men leave them daily; whereupon these that were dissatisfied pressed that a declaration might be put forth, whereby they should make known all their former principles at Rutherglen and Glasgow, and against all the sins of the time, and for that effect employed the ministers that were faithful herein; and marching this night to West Monkland, and quartered all night; and on Saturday the 14 of June they called a council at the Hags, where they sent to Mr Welch and Hume to entreat them to preach against all the sins of the time, particularly the indulgence, without which they could not be satisfied with them, seeing the Lord had countenanced all that had been faithful herein.

Mr Hume and that party took this at a high rate, and said they were giving ministers instructions what to preach; so staying there all night, the army met on the Shaw-head Moor on the Sabbath to hear sermon, where the debates were great. Some that owned the Rutherglen testimony declared against such as would not declare the whole causes of God's wrath, and against the whole defection. Mr Hume and that party cried out against this as an encroachment upon the ministerial authority. Also Mr Hume came where Mr Kid* was going to preach, and commanded him out of the place as

* Mr Kid was afterwards hanged with Mr King. In their joint petition to the privy council, denying all accession to the rebellion, Kid alleges, that "at the desire of them that were most peaceable, he went, *in the simplicity of his heart*, to Hamiltoun, to persuade the rebels to obedience, and for no other end or account whatsomever. When Robert Hamilton, and some others of the ringleaders, became enraged with the petitioner's peaceable advice, he came on his journey homeward, and was pursued by a party of rebels, who threatened to kill him if he would not return; neither had he any arms, but a short sword, to disguise himself from being known as a preacher."

one that had been a troubler of the church, which occasioned great controversies, the people pleading a power to call what ministers they pleased; so when the day was far spent they preached at several places where they pleased. The abuses of this day was great; Mr Hume thrust Mr Douglas from the place where he was going to preach, and preached himself, crying up the king's lawful authority, and the accepting of all persons to the army.

After noon, Major Learmonth came in with a considerable body of horse and foot from Tweeddale that night, where was a council of war called at the Hags, the officers meeting in one room and the ministers in another. At the council there was a draught of a declaration produced, containing several steps of defection that the land was guilty of, which was acceptable to all except two of Mr Welch's party. They also voted unanimously a day of humiliation; but the ministers coming in, Mr Cargil told, it seemed now they must part, and took all to witness, and instruments, that the cause of parting was the rest of the ministers refusing a day of humiliation and acknowledgement of the sins of the land; all they said was, that they would not keep one till other friends came. But others, fearing that either they should strengthen that party that were against it, and that it had been too long delayed, and that this was but a shift lest the indulged men should be touched, resolved to have it, and, if they oppose it, to part with them; whereupon Mr Welch and that party craved liberty to enquire the Lord's mind anent it, and they would give an answer, which the other party condescended, thinking to win them to their duty, being loath to have a rent, if they would have joined to so great a work. So quartering still there that night, appointing to meet tomorrow in the Shaw-head Moor again, which meeting was thin, by reason of great rains all day, and no ministers with them; so parting to their several quarters they met on Tuesday in that same

place, the ministers being absent. They hearing of some forces that were going towards Edinburgh, sent William Carmichel, John Balfour,* and Andrew Turnbull, with a party of horse, about 100, to Linlithgow, who returned on Wednesday, giving account that there were many foot and horse in Linlithgow, so that they durst not enter, and bringing a prisoner with them, who was a Perthshire man, and he told that it was the militia who had been sent forth to seduce them, and entice them into the town.

There was that day a counsel of war in a barn beside the moor, where were the most part of the officers and ministers, who, with one consent, (except Shergaton and James Carmichael, who desired a delay till Mr Welch and Mr Hume were there,) appointed Thursday to be a day of humiliation, and chose 4 old men, elders of the church, and 4 ministers, to draw up and condescend upon the causes of the Lord's wrath that they might be concerned for; and these 8 went to a barn by themselves, and agreed unanimously, and the clerk was beginning to write. Mr Welch came into the barn where the officers were agreeing about a place for going about it, and bringing with him some of his party who made a great stir, dissuading from the work, and upbraiding them as men that had forsaken the old path, and again bragging of consulting betters to lead the army; and the other party pressing the day of humiliation, Mr Welch desired that that might be one of the causes of God's wrath, ministers preaching against the indulgence and people hearing such, until it should be determined by a general assembly, being a controversy; and when asked if they should mourn for the ministers preaching, and the testimony of dying men, both on scaffolds and in the fields, and in their wounds at Drumclog, he said Yes. This was very sad to many to hear the like from him, and satisfying to others that he had vented himself thus, being, as they thought, good ground of parting and going to the other barn. He raised

such a stir among all thro' the heat of this controversy, the whole army was put in confusion, who before were rejoicing to get their sins acknowledged, some giving their men liberty to part; and the army marching towards Erdry, it was not thought a fit place to stay in, being in such a confusion; whereupon they returning, marching all night along Bothwell Bridge to Hamilton Moor, where resting Thursday forenoon, in the afternoon they went to resolve about making a declaration which might separate them, they were alarmed with news of the enemy approaching in parties towards them, whereupon they sent out parties first of some volunteers, commanded by Robert Dick, and then John Balfour's troop; next Mr Walter Smith and Andrew Turnbull. These rencountering a party of the enemy in the dark of the night, fired upon other, upon which the enemies fled (and, as was said, some of them killed) to the body lying be-east the Shott kirk, strengthened with mosses on every hand, that these parties durst not follow them, tho' the enemies were in great fear, but they wanting guides, and not knowing the way, returned to the army; Rathillet's troop went out alongst Bothwell Bridge, and standing all night in arms, went near to the enemy Friday morning, and returned. This day, being the 20 June, the Galloway gentlemen and others that Mr Welch had written for came in, and joining themselves with that faction, and all together, sent up a paper to Robert Hamilton, and those with him, desiring him to subscrive it, which was a binding them to adhere to the Hamilton declaration, and forbear all other differences, until a general assembly and free parliament.

This troubled the other party; for, first, they knew that it was an establishing of that defection of indulgence, which they esteemed as a great encroachment on the privileges of Jesus Christ, as prelacy, and a contradicting of Rutherglen testimony, which the Lord visibly owned them in, and was likewise contrary to that promise, that

it should be enlarged to their mind, and altered before printing or publishing thereof; so they desired those who was sent with the paper to declare these differences what they were, that they would put off till a general assembly, tho' they knew that that could not be had, but one of erastian perjured men who had joined with the abominations of the time. So no more was done that night, but sent out parties of horse, some alongst Bothwell Bridge, and some thro' the ford be-east Hamilton, who standing in their arms all night, in the morning James Cleland was killed, who with other 3 encountered 18 of the enemies, and, firing each on other, he was killed with a shot in the thigh, and presently the other three pursued the enemies, who fled fast to their party and all into their body; and the two parties of their own mistaking other, thought that each was enemies, pursued no further, but stood on their ground and then retired.

James Cleland was buried at Hamilton that day, after which a council was called on the moor, where came all these new-come gentlemen. The first thing amongst them was, they desired that the ministers should be called; and the other answered, the ministers whom they owned was not there, and for others, they could not join with them no longer, for they had broken all promises; but they pressed that they might be taken in; and the other pressed that elders might be taken in likewise, for they had been hazarding all that they had when many of these gentlemen had been sitting at ease. These gentlemen told plainly that they owned the indulgence, and all that accepted of it; whereupon Robert Hamilton and that party rose, telling them they durst not join any more with them, for they expected that the Lord would not further prosper them if they should return to these sins which they had testified against, the Lord so signally owning them therein. And these Galloway men told likewise that they disowned all officers formerly

chosen, and would countenance none but such as should be chosen by the gentry; whereupon Mr Hamilton, with almost all the former officers that had carried on the work to this time, removed, sadly thinking of the rent, expecting either the breaking of that army, or else their turning back to all the abominations that they had testified against formerly; and after an hours sundering, these men going to consult what to do, Earlstoun the younger, and Mr King, and some others, came to them from the Galloway men, desiring them to come to them again, and they would endeavour to satisfy them in all things, which, after a consultation, it was thought fit to hear them; who coming, and protesting that they adhered to their former principles, it was demanded if they would condescend to supplicate the Duke of Monmouth? which they rejected as a thing unlawful, and proved it by many reasons, especially the treating with any rulers while they stood cloathed with the Mediator's honours, and guilty of so much innocent blood of the Lord's people for owning Christ's prerogative, as also the door of supplications being closed by these in power. This bred a hot debate, yet at length they produced one, having in their absence chosen Killoch preses, and waited this Supplication, which the ministers had ready for them, tho' some of them denied it.

After a hot debate and a new separating, they pressed that an information might be sent to him of the wrongs done to Jesus Christ and the church, which they said, he wondered being so long there, that he had not gotten ere now; it was asked, how they knew that he expected any address from them, and that it seemed they had correspondence with the enemy, which there was many presumptions of; Mr Hume answered, that it was from friends that had it from some with the duke. Whereupon these that sought peace among them, of which there was severals, prest that a minister and a gentleman of each party might be chosen to commune of these

things, which was done, and they going aside, condescended that an information of the horrid things which were the cause of their appearing in arms might be drawn and sent to the duke, which was committed to Mr Don. Cargil to oversee it that it had nothing like a supplicating or consenting to any terms anent the ..... of the church, with these that had usurped that power from Jesus Christ; and appointing the army how to lie all night, expecting the next counsel of war to separate; for it was perceived, that Mr Welch and Hume having gotten in these indulged gentlemen and ministers, and that some of their party were with the enemy, with whom there was a constant correspondence, which either would tend to agreement, to desert such as had begun the work, or engaging them with such wicked courses as they had been testifying against, and the betraying of the cause.

About midnight they were alarmed with the news of the enemy's approach toward them, whereupon Henry Hall, Rathillet, and Turnbull, being with their three troops at Bothwel Bridge all night, and sending out parties, encountered with parties of the enemy, and firing on other, retired; whereupon the three troops marching forward, learned that the whole body of the army was near them, and retired within the bridge, where was a company of foot commanded by John Fouler,* and Alexander Ross another. The whole army by this time was in arms, and advising what to do, were assaulted by Mr Hume and that party, for sending some to the duke as had been condescended on the day before, and charged these that seemed to be busy about ordering the army, and listened not

* Fowler was afterwards killed at the skirmish of Airs-moss, and his head carried in a bag (Cameron's being exalted on a pike) before Hackston, when he was marched as a prisoner along the High Street of Edinburgh.

to it, with the blood of all these men if they would not. It was answered, it seemed they had not come there to fight, but to supplicate; but being so importunate, and choosing two of Robert Hamilton's party, fearing the unfaithfulness of the other party, which no sooner yielded to, but there going was prevented by Mr Hume; and a Galloway laird, Murdoch, sent a drummer to desire hearing, which was granted, and going over the bridge upon the enemy advancing, which was about six troops of troopers and dragoons of English; but before they two went over, Baskcob, with six troops of horse and some foot, was commanded to go over and fight them, but refused absolutely.

First, six of the dragoons lighted and went near the water within shot, and fired on the honest party, then they were answered by some shot from them, two or three of these six fell, but not dead, only wounded; there was one of their men hurt in the foot, and after this the drummer beats a parley; being granted, Mr Hume and Murdoch went over, and the duke asked Mr Hume if he would own the Rutherglen Testimony? answered, God forbid, and told him that he owned Hamilton Declaration. However, nothing would please the duke except they would lay down their arms and come in his mercy, which they refused; whereupon making all ready, an English trumpeter sounding a parley, was asked what it meant; and it was answered, that they should make ready, and they should have half an hour to do it, tho' they refused any cessation formerly, but by this means they got all their cannons planted, and Mr Hume and Murdoch went over, but presently returned; only the duke told them that he would hear a parley at the last gasp, and or ever Mr Hume and Murdoch was well over the bridge, the enemy fired five piece of cannon, with a considerable number of dragoons that was drawn up, and had casten a little ditch in the time of the parley for their safety, tho' contrary to order.

In the mean time Rathillet and many of the officers were at the bridge, and commanded to fire the cannon, having no more, and being a brazen piece, fired; and all the enemy fled and left their cannon, and severals of them killed. Then David Lesly cried, Would they fleg for country fellows? and presently rallied and advanced to their cannons, but the bridge being stopt with an baracade for defence, otherwise they might easily have taken their cannons; but being all discouraged with Mr Hume's going over to tamper with the enemy, and it was visibly seen that the Lord had deserted them for seeking peace with these wretches whom he had declared war against; and after several times firing on both sides, Baskcob and Carmichel retired to the body who was drawn up in the moor, about two musket-shot off, and then the rest and Rathillet, being last, went off in order, and all the time stood before the mouth of the cannon, and still playing on them, yet never so much as one of his troup stirred, and one but of the party of horse that was at the bridge was feld with the cannon, and some said the horse was only feld and not the man, and very few foot was feld, but severals of the enemy was feld, being retiring to their body, the enemy's cannons playing all the time, and being to come alongst the bridge, their whole body advancing, being drawn up about a mile benorth the bridge, being called 2300 foot and horse in all, and the honest party was about 5 and 6 thousand, the enemy drawn up as fast as they could, placed their cannons first and played still; the honest party having a wonderful opportunity to have beaten the enemy, when there was but two three regiments drawn up in order, and all the rest but coming and in disorder, and drawing up, having the bridge to come alongst; but alas! being all in confusion about their debates with that party that was for the king's interest and indulgence, so that they would not obey any command of that

honest handful, but was still seeking parley with the enemy, so that the enemy got leave to draw up deliberately.

Then Mr Hamilton and Learmonth commanding them to make ready to fight, and to go on with a desperate charge, Thomas Weir of Greenrige being about the midst of the army, first with James Carmichel without command, went away to the left hand where Rathillet and Hall was drawn up, and marching by them, desired them to back him, for he was going forward to take the enemys cannon, being on the right hand; and the mean time the enemys firing, the Galloway men was seeking a drummer to beat a parley, so that there was scarcely one to command their men, but was all crying out they had none to lead them on, for all their captains were away. Mr Hume at this time was desiring them to take courage, for the cause was good; and James Russell having been speaking to Mr Hamilton, telling him that there was some of the foot running away, and coming riding back fast to their troop, hears Mr Hume, and told him that he was guilty of all that blood, for he had denied the Lord's cause, so that they could not stand before the enemy; but Mr Hume had not a face to answer him, but went away; and as James Russell came to their troup with Thomas Weir and Carmichel, Thomas Weir first draws off his men four men deep, upon the firing of the cannon, being standing 5 or 6 rigs broad before the body, and his men wheeled all in confusion together, except some that was foremost, and brake through both horse and foot that was standing behind him, and trod many of them down; and the foot, thinking that he was flying altogether away, began to run, but he declared that he was but going to draw up farther back, for if he had stood, all his men would have been feld with the cannon, tho' there was not one of them so much as hurt with the cannon at that time.

However, he never rallied again, but fled, and all presently ran away; the right hand standing a little, but seeing all the left hand running, they presently fled all in disorder, many of the foot casting away their arms, being commanded by William Cleland and some other honest officers, so that the most part of the regiment was killed and taken prisoners, flying towards Hamilton. The greatest body of horse fled towards Strevan, being pursued with a party of the enemy till Strevan; and then they drew up the south side of Strevan, where was Mr Hamilton and John Balfour and Baskcob, Mr Hamilton being but presently come forward, and the Fife men, and marched towards the Castle of Cumlock, and quartered thereabout; and to-morrow, hearing of a party still standing, wondered who it could be, for they being on the field as long as there was any standing.

However, they returned to the Moorkirk of Kyle, where they heard that none of them was standing; they being about 3 troops of horse together, went toward Crawford-John on the Monday night, where they all sundered, their heats and debates being still the more.*

* For many particulars of the *heats and debates* among the covenanters previous to the battle of Bothwell Bridge, see Hamilton's Letter in Justification of himself, *Faithful Contendings displayed, p.* 186.—He mentions that Major Carmichael, to prevent Home the preacher from reading the Declaration, *was necessitate to drive him away with his drawn sword;* and it is probable enough, that had the rebels been successful in this conflict, they would have put the gallows, which they are said to have erected for the destruction of their malignant enemies, to the more extended use of purging their camp of *Achans*, and all Erastian professors. Their merciful disposition towards their prisoners is thus recorded by Creichton: "The cruelty and presumption of that wicked and perverse generation will appear evident from a single instance. These rebels had set up a very large gallows in the middle of their camp, and prepared a cart-

Robert Hamilton, Hendry Hall, and the Fife men, except Rathillet, who being a little after the rest in the field, so when he saw the foot coming he left his troup, thinking to hold them again, so

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full of new ropes at the foot of it, in order to hang up the king's soldiers, whom they already looked upon as vanquished and at mercy; and it happened, that the pursuers in the royal army, returning back with their prisoners, chose the place where the gallows stood to guard them at, without offering to hang one of them, which they richly deserved, and had so much reason to expect."—This gallows is also mentioned by Guild, in his *Bellum Bothuellianum*, and by the anonymous author of an English (or rather Scottish) Poem, composed on the same subject, entitled, A short Compend or Description of the Rebels in Scotland, in Anno 1679, by a Well-wisher of his Majesty, published by Authority. Edinburgh, printed in the Year 1681.

" But when their foot did take the flight,
To make escape with all their might,
Some ran to holes, some to the height,
With many a wallaway.
The Highlanders did quickly follow,
In victory them up to swallow,
Caused many in their blood to wallow,
Crying, alace! that day.

" They were committed to the guard,
Expecting but a bad reward,
The gallows which themselves prepar'd
Their captives on to hing:
To that same gallows were they brought,
Where all of them expected nought
But Haman-like, up to be caught,
A punishment condign."

In the Memoirs of the Rev. Mr Blackadder, the prisoners are said to have been " all gathered together about *a gallows, which stood there.*" This, if not erected by the

that he knew not what way his friends went, he being pursued by the enemy, went westward, escaping, he staid with John Paton and thereabout be-west Loudon-hill; the enemies lying thereabout, he escaped wonderfully many times. Mr Hamilton and John Balfour, Andrew Henderson and Alexander Henderson, George Fleman and James Russell, and Mr King and Mr Duglas, with several others, went to the Stewartry of Galloway towards Baskcob's, taking a horse of a papist, and some arms from a rascal, who had taken and was lying in the way to take all that came that way at Entrekine; and hearing tell that ..... was in arms with a number of men to wait on, on all that came that way, not knowing where to go, they went straight to ..... beside Earlstone;* lying all night on grass, came

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whigs, must have been the gibbet of an exposed malefactor; which is not probable. Wodrow takes no notice of the reports concerning the gallows and ropes, though they must have come within his knowledge, but says, that the prisoners, after Bothwell, were treated on their way to Edinburgh in an inhuman manner. "When they were come to Corstorphine, within two miles of Edinburgh, great multitudes came out of the town to stare and gaze upon them. Both sides of the road were lined with people, and some of them were most bitter and malicious in their jesting, and reproaching the prisoners as they went by. Too many of that profane mob followed the pattern of the old mockers literally, and said, 'Where is now your God? Take him up now and Mr Welch, who said you should win the day:'—that good man had no such expression." Mr Welch was accused of having affirmed, that the very windle-straws would fight for the good cause; and in all probability did so, though Wodrow denies it. He also thinks fit to disbelieve (*vol. II. p.* 89,) the word, No Quarter, given by Hamilton at Drumclog, which Hamilton himself acknowledged; and terms the execution of the butcher at Glasgow a malicious untruth, though Russell expressly mentions that circumstance in his Narrative.

* Gordon, Laird of Earlston, killed on his way to join the insurgents at Bothwell by a party of English dragoons, was a blood-thirsty covenanter, of whom Robert Smith, in his Information printed at the conclusion of Spratt's Account of the Rye-House Plot,

there on Wednesday morning, being the 25th of June, and quartered all night in a park beside Earlstone, and went to Earlstone on Thursday, and Friday to Dinduchal, and lay in a park, and went to Carfairn; and Alexander Gordon came from Baskcob, and the gentlemen thereabout, and intreated the Fife men, with some others, not to sunder, expecting to raise all the country; and sundering with Mr Hamilton and Hall at Earlstone, and Baskcob took them to Kenmoor town and supped, and then lay in a meadow all night, and staid at the Barmaclaling kirk forenoon; and then Archibald Stewart and James Pagan, and some others, went away to Minigaff, being a preaching to be on Sabbath, and staying all night by the way in a little house, and Sabbath morning came to Minigaff with Andrew Turnbull; and going to the preaching 2 miles be-west it, where Mr Samuel Arnott, and Mr George Barclay, and Mr Robert Archibald preached, and at night went to Barclay and Castle Stewart, and staid until Tuesday; and meeting all at a house about a mile be-east Barclay, and consulting where to go to, Andrew and Alexander Henderson, and George Fleman, and James Russell, went to Baldone, and spake to Mr Barclay and Turnbull, and thence went to Barchanary, and staid till Thursday; and then

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gives this anecdote:—"As we were passing by the old castle of Thrieve, where his late majesty, of blessed memory, had a garrison in the beginning of the unhappy troubles of his reign, old Gordon of Earlston, who in a few days after was killed at Bothwell Bridge, in my hearing spoke to the officers about him as followeth: Gentlemen, I was the man that commanded the party which took this castle from the late king, who had in it about 200 of the name of Maxwell, of whom the greatest part being papists, *we put them all to the sword,* and demolished the castle, as you see it: and now (tho' an old man) I take up arms against the son, whom I hope to see go the same way that his father went: for we can never put trust in a covenant breaker: so, gentlemen, your cause is good, ye need not fear to fight against a forsworn king."

coming back again, and spake to Mr Barclay in Baldone; and Mr Turnbull, and Robert and John Dick, came with them to Archibald Stewart's, and then sundered near Minigaff; and Andrew and Alexander Henderson, and George Fleman and James Russell lay out all night, being disappointed of their quarters, and meeting together at Minigaff on Friday; and John Balfour and Blacktor went to Castle Stewart, and Andrew and Alexander Henderson went to Cochley, and James Russell, George Fleman, in a gentleman's house called Martin; and being alarmed, met all be-west Castle Stewart, and went west to ..... all night; and in the Sabbath morning going to the preaching, and being near the meeting place, the alarm comes from Minigaff that Clavers was come. Then all, being so affrighted, dismissed; and these Galloway men that was so kind and pressing for the Fife men to stay together, left them, not knowing where to go to; but having two men come from Mr Welch from Carrick on Friday to Minigaff the 3d day of July, in order to rising again, and desiring them to stay together, not knowing what to do, all the country flying, they ordering west toward Carrick, lighted at ....., and refreshed themselves and their horse; and then horsing and riding, came to ....., where Mr Welch was, and staid till Tuesday; and being alarmed, Clavers being pursuing and within a mile, presently horsing and came to Drummellintoun Tuesday afternoon; and shoeing their horse, and refreshing themselves, went to Waterhead all night; and on Wednesday went to a den be-east the Waterhead with Mr Welch, and staid till afternoon; and the Lairds of Carrick wrote to Mr Welch, desiring him either to part with these men, or else they would have no more ado with him; and Mr Welch caused read the letter, being very grieved. And Andrew and Alexander Henderson, and George Fleman and James Russell, and James Kenere and John Foster, and William

Kirk, horsed; John Balfour and Turnbull staid thereabout, John Balfour not being able to travel of his wound in his thigh that he got at Hamilton pickating afore the enemy,* and they left him and went toward the castle of Cumlock, resolving home to Fife.

And lighting and refreshing themselves in a house, and getting a guide to the castle, and then a guide to Dornell, and baited their horse, and got a guide to Barnbrack, and lying forth all night, the guide going well, and came there in the morning; and resting till 12 hours forenoon, horsed, and going toward Pudock-hoome with a guide, met with James Weir in Lesmehagow, who was flying from the enemies, who told them that the troupers were in through all the country, and the English dragoons was at Arnbuckle, and through all the country there, so that it was impossible to escape; and consulting what to do, resolved to stay at a house, being Thursday, being the 10th day of July; and coming to it, staid all night, and sent James Kenere and a little boy to Hamilton to see where the troupers were lying, and if he could get any word of Rathillet his master; and he getting word of his master, came back on Saturday to the head of Douglas water, where he found the rest in a den lying; for the people being feared to shelter them, resolved to lie there forth; and he being come, told them that he had gotten word that his master was west about Eaglesham and the east of Finnick, and presently sent him away for him, who came back with his master on Monday, being the 14th day of July, and staid Tuesday, and about a mile be-west lay all night. Their horses being a-seeking, got them again, and horsing, came to Dorell at night, having gotten by the way word that there were 6 or 7 troupers

* In the depositions of witnesses respecting those concerned in Bothwell Insurrection, as quoted by Wodrow, one person depones, "that when Balfour was fleeing, he heard him say that he had received a shot, *the devil cut off the hands that gave it.*"

spoiling the country, and taking all the horses that they could get. They lay that night beside the Dorell upon grass. On Thursday morning, Jo. ..... came to them, and told them that the whole country would be spoiled if there were not some course taken with these troupers, and earnestly desired them to go with him, for there was 6 or 7 within a mile who had robbed and taken horse and money wherever they came. They all presently horsed, and meeting with two or three friends, who told them that they were in ..... even now; and riding hard, came within sight of the two troupers, who was spoiling and taking horse and cloaths from poor bodies; and being three of them, with all the horse at the grass beside the town, and the other three was spoiling within doors beside them, coming forward at the gallop, and desires them to render their arms; they refusing, fired on them, and one of them being on horse, rode away, and presently the rest came to help. The Fife men, desiring them to render their arms, and they refused likewise, presently fired on them, and took one of their pistols and fired it on the troupers themselves, but being nothing in her but powder, only burnt his face; and he presently went to the house and told he was shot, and all the rest was quitting their arms and taking quarters. The Fife men resolving to take all their horse and arms, but the people of the town being feared for trouble afterhend, prayed them not to wrong them, only to take all that they had taken, which the troupers was willing to give; and on the persuasion of the people they let them go, after they had gotten all again that they had robbed, as the people said themselves; but there was none of them hid, and the Fife men come to the house where the troupers had been all night, refreshed themselves, and then went to an house with one that had gotten his horse that they had taken, and staid a little, and then went to Cumlock Castle, and baited their horse and refreshed themselves.

In the mean time, William Cleland and John Fuller came to the door. John Fuller being taken prisoner at Hamilton, and in the yard of Edinburgh they wonderfully escaped, and horsing altogether, rode about a mile to one Gamil's, and lay all night thereforth, and on Friday went to Waterhead, where we met with Andrew Turnbull and John Balfour, and some others; and Rathillet and John Balfour, and William Cleland and John Fuller, went to Earlston; and Andrew Henderson and Alexander Henderson, George Fleman, went to Carsfairn be-east the kirk a mile, and on Saturday they horsed and went to Dindeuch and dined with some friends, and went to Earlstone all night to Mr Hamilton* and Rathillet and others, and took again a horse of Earlstone's from one who was fining all the honest people in Nithsdale, and then staid all night there forth, and on Wednesday rode about 4 or 5 mile west and

* Hamilton, whom Mr Laing in his History strangely mistakes for a preacher, soon after the battle of Bothwell Bridge escaped to Holland, where he appears to have lived in continual broils with divers of the backsliding brethren. And what *dismal defections* they were then and afterwards guilty of may be gathered, not only from their treatment of himself and Mr James Renwick, as detailed in the Faithful Contendings, but also from anecdotes of sundry other malignancies, recorded in that book. Among these, one of the most signal and ludicrous occurs at page 474 of the Appendix, where the reprobate state of Scotland after the Revolution, more especially with regard to its clergy, who concurred in sinful levies for the prosecution of the French war, is mentioned with much horror. "Mr William Boyd, that he might shew what kindness he had for his old friends, that he might be behind none in this, after he was settled in Dalry, caused his elders in the night to take out of their beds severals of the dissenters in that parish, and upon the Sabbath morning *shaved the old men's beards to make them appear young*, that so they might pass for the parish, and so presented them to the recruiting officer: but was in this disappointed, as the officer would not accept of them because of their age. Such was a part of the reward Mr Boyd returned to his old friends for contributing so largely for his maintenance while he was abroad, as is before related."

staid all night, and then went to Blackous on Thursday; and William Cleland, and Andrew Henderson, and John Fullerton, to Duglas; and there being troupers robbing the country of their horse and all other things, they met with 4 or 5 of them at Guylcarcruch, and firing on each other, the troupers fled, and they pursued; and taking some horse from them, came back on Saturday to the rest, who met them 3 or 4 at ..... be-south-east of the castle of Cumlock, and staying thereabout all the Sabbath in the fields, went to John Gamil's and his brother all night; and on Monday, being the 29 day of July, horsed at night, and being alarmed, rode to the head of Duglas water on the Tuesday; being sore wearied, could neither get meat nor drink to man, and little to horse; finding a well, drank so that they were all refreshed as they had got never so great fare; and not knowing what to do, there came a woman out of Edinburgh seeking them, and with letters to Mr Hamilton that resolved them all what to do; and horsing Tuesday night, came to Duglas, and supped at the east side of the town, and went all night to..... and staid; and Mr Hamilton and Hall having sundered, William Cleland at Poudockhome and Fouler went to Edinburgh, and Rathillet and John Balfour, and Andrew and Alexander Henderson, and George Fleman and James Russel, and James Kenere, went to the Mulren and refreshed themselves; and being alarmed that the troupers were rindging the fields, staid within a mile of them all day, and horsing, went to Arnbuckle on Thursday night, and got a guide to Kilsyth, Clavers being lying in Campsie and about Kilsyth; and riding through Kilsyth in the night, there was a party of troupers new lighted, so that they saw the candles, and people came to the doors; but riding to one Thomas Russel, about a mile west, got a guide, and went to the back side to one Andrew Dun's, an honest man's house; but being gentlemen at the present in his house who was maligned, he being feared for hazard, would

not so much as speak to them, but one of his servants told them that they could not escape if there were a hundred of them, for the enemy was waiting on their home-coming, and if he should but guide them any way, they would take and hang him. They not knowing what to do, their horses being so tired, not able to trot, and seeing no remedy, being surrounded with enemies, went over the hills and staid all day two miles be-west Kippen; and horsing and going towards Dumblain, having forced a guide, met one Broch, with 10 or 12 horsemen with him, who had broken all the Fife men before. Making all ready, resolving to fight as long as the Lord should enable them, and having all their carrabines and pistols ready, came roundly forward. Broch never owned them; but being guided at several places where they were to pass, and at the Bridge of Doun being will what to do, rode off the way to seek a guide to take them another way, and by providence lighted on an honest man, who took them away to James Henderson's, about two miles from Stirling northward, and staid and refreshed themselves and their horse; and horsing in the morning, being Saturday, went towards Blackford, and being taken for troupers, refreshed themselves, and got a full account how the Fife-men was broken, and then horsed and went towards Dunning about 12 hours; and then near Duplin John Balfour sundered with the rest, and went to Duplin mill; and coming to ....., and lay and rested our horse on the grass; and being horsed, and Rathillet and his man went to Balward, and the other four went towards the glen, and that night to Balgurno, and staid all night; and Sabbath, being the 5 day of August, and at night went to Farneyside, and went to Abrackment, and to some places thereabout, all that week; and John Balfour being come east, and Rathillet to their sisters in the Morton, and being gotten notice of by Sir William ....., was assaulted by 30 men in the night time at the Morton. They being

in their bed, the mistress of the house and John Balfour's wife rising, told them that they were all dead men; and putting on their clothes, the mistress of the house came to the door and let them in, and desired them to be merciful, for they were here that they were seeking; and lighting candles, went to all the chambers of the house except that which they were in, and many of them guarding the door and yate; Rathillet, thinking he was taken, but resolved to assay all means, came forward, and John Balfour at his back, and his sister holding the candle, blew it out, and being desired to stand and be taken, dang some of them o'er, and escaped both, they crying and firing on them; and his wife likewise escaped after them, notwithstanding it was moon-light and near day, and went to ..... all day, and then after went towards the west end of the shire, but could get no quarters, for all was so feared, and there being so great search for them; went toward Broomhal, and staid one or two nights there, and then went to Culross and staid several days, where the rest came to them, John Fleman, Andrew Henderson, Alex. Henderson, James Russell, the 5th day in Kilbrackment and 6th in Stenton, and the 9th day in Kinkail, and the 10th and 11th day in Kinkail. The 10th day, at night, James Russell went home, being refused of quarters be the way from these with whom he was very intimate with before; and going home, staid all Monday, and went to Killbrackment at night, where he met with the rest, who was presently come from Kinkail, being the 11 day of August, and went to Balbouthie on Wednesday and Thursday, and Friday to Stenton, being alarmed that Mr Hackston and Balfour was set upon by 30 men and had escaped; and going to Edross on Saturday night, and staid until Monday, 26 day, and then to Killnucks all night, and the next night to the Starr, and the next night to Dysart, and the next night to Bruntiland, and on Saturday night to Culross, coming there on Sunday morning,

being the 31 day of August; and on Thursday night went to Borrowstounness, where they staid, and where they met with Rathillet* and John Balfour, who went away on Friday, being the 5th

* Hackston was finally made prisoner at the skirmish of Airs-moss, and carried into Edinburgh, where he was condemned to have his hands cut off, and then to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Burnet says that "he had so *strong a heart*, that notwithstanding all the loss of blood by his wounds, and the cutting off his hands, yet when he was hanged up, and his heart cut out, it continued to palpitate some time after it was on the hangman's knife."—From his speeches and letters published in the Cloud of Witnesses, his heart seems in one sense to have been stronger than his head. Yet, on his examination before the privy council, when the king's advocate enquired *where he was the 3d day of May was a year*, (the day of the archbishop's murder,) he answered, I am not bound to keep a memorial of where I am, or what I do *every day*. It may not be improper to conclude the notes to this volume with an Abridgement of the Criminal Letters, raised 2d April, 1683, against several of Hackston's friends, and many rebels who had fled from justice to Holland, as they contain some notices respecting these worthies not elsewhere to be found. "Anent Criminal Letters raised by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, his majesty's advocate, against John Balfour of Kinloch, called Captain Burleigh, John Russell, portioner of Kettle, Robert Hamilton, brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preston, Mr John Hog, minister at Rotterdam, Mr Robert Fleming there, —— Smith, Mr Robert Langlands, Andrew Russell, factor, John Russel, factor, and James Stuart, son to Sir James Stuart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh; making mention, that notwithstanding of many acts of parliament against treason, rebellion, and rising in arms, which they have broken; and whereas by Act 11. Sess. I. Parl. 2. Char. 2. the king's advocate, warranted by the privy council, may and ought to insist against such persons in absence; and if cited and not compearing, the lords are to proceed to forfeiture, as if they were present: and it is so verily, that the said John Balfour and John Russell, with the deceast David Hackstoun of Rathillet, and others, discharged several shots in the coach of his Grace James Archbishop of St Andrews, about two miles from the city of St Andrews, in Magus-muir, when travelling, with his daughter, most securely, and most sacrilegiously invaded him and his daughter; and his Grace having opened the door, and come forth, and fallen down on his knees, begging mercy, or time to recommend his soul to God, and to pray for his murderers, so cruel and inhumane were they, that without pitying his gray hairs, or

September, with John Ritchie to Holland; and they staid in Boness until the 18 day of October, and then went away to Holland, but having a great storm, was driven in to Harish, and from Ha-

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the shrieks of his weeping daughter, or respecting his character or office, most cruelly and furiously gave him many bloody and mortal wounds in his head and other places, and left him dead and murdered on the place; and then went into the west, and rose in rebellion at Bothwell Bridge, under the command of the said Robert Hamilton. And when, by the diligence of his majesty's forces, they could no longer stay in the nation, they fled to the United Provinces of Holland, when the said Mr John Hog, Mr Robert Fleming, Mr Robert Langlands, &c. conversed with them, harboured, supplied, and furnished them with money and necessaries, in the year 1679, 80, 81, or 82, and the said Mrs Hog, Fleming, Smith, and Langlands, did, in one of the months of the years foresaid, employ Mr Donald Cargill, Mr Richard Cameron, Mr John Rae, Mr David Hume, Mr John King, Mr John Kid, Mr John Weir, Mr Thomas Hog, Mr Andrew Anderson, Mr John Ross, Mr Alexander Wilson, Mr Alexander Bertram, Mr Francis Irvine, Mr John Wallwood, Mr Thomas Macgill, ministers, fled from their native country, for their hand in the rebellion, 1679, and who were intercommuned. And the said Messrs Hog, Fleming, Smith, and Langlands, are arrived to that height of impiety, to own and maintain that treasonable and sacrilegious covenant, (which occasioned so much bloodshed, and the loss of the lives of so many good subjects, and was the engine of the whole catastrophe of the rebellious, and unparalleled and accursed murder of our sovereign lord Charles I., to the everlasting reproach of the protestant religion,) and in an impious and insolent manner, did take upon them to debar from the Lord's table such as owned his majesty's authority, or assisted or served him in the government, as enemies to Christ and his kingdom; and consulted and treated for admitting the said John Balfour to the table of the Lord; and during the Dutch war, they prayed publickly for the success of the forces of the States, against their sovereign lord the king; and the said James Stuart, being the son of a father whose disloyal principles and practices tended to the destruction of his majesty's authority and government in the times of the late rebellion, he no sooner arrived at any height of knowledge, than he used all endeavours to disturb the government, both in church and state, and by his writings and practices to sow sedition; and after he was forced to lurk and flee the nation, when returned after the Indemnity, he wrote and drew a representation of the late Earl of Argyle's case, which paper was designed to be printed, wherein he ex-

rish to Holland the 4th day, where they met with their friends, being the 4th of November, 1679.

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tremely reflected on the late parliament, and test, appointed to be a bulwark to the protestant religion and his majesty's government; and drew and wrote reasons against the said test, treasonably asserting, that subjects were bound by the covenant and confession of faith, to oppose the civil magistrate in defence of religion; and hath assisted, supplied, and done favours to the said John Balfour and Russell, and continues in a desperate state of rebellion and treason. Wherefore these things being proven, the whole of the above named persons ought to be punished with forfeiture of life, and lands and goods."

END OF RUSSELL'S ACCOUNT, &c.

LETTER

FROM SIR WILLIAM SHARP, THE ARCHBISHOP'S SON, TO SIR JAMES BAIRD, AT BANFF,

Giving an Account of his Father's Murder.

HONOURED SIR,

THIS horrid and stupendous murther has so confounded me, that I am not able to give a suitable return to your excellent and kind letter. What I have learnt of that execrable deed is, that on Friday the 2d of this instant month, my worthy father crossed the water, lay at Kennoway all night, next morning set out for St Andrews. Being two miles off, 27 of those villainous regicides had a full view of the coach, and not finding the opportunity, divided into three parties, which took up the three ways he could take homewards. Nine of them assaulted the coach within two miles of this place, by discharging their pistols, and securing his servants. The coachman drove on for half-a-mile, until one of his horses was wounded in three places, and the postilion wounded in the hand. Then they fired several shot at the coach, and commanded my dearest father to come out, which he said he would. When he had come out, (not being yet wounded,) he said, Gentlemen, I beg my life. No! bloody villain, betrayer of the cause of Christ, no mercy! Then, said he, I ask none for myself, but have mercy on my poor child, (his eldest daughter was in the coach with him,) and holding out his hand to one of them, to get his, that he would spare his child, he cut him in the wrist. Then falling down upon his knees, and holding up his hands, he prayed that God would forgive them; and, begging mercy for his sins from his Saviour, they murdered him, by sixteen great wounds, in his back, head, and one above his left eye, three in his left hand, when he was holding them up, with a shot above his right breast, which was found to be powder. After this damnable deed, they took the papers out of his pocket, robbed my sister and their servants of all their papers, gold, and money; and one of these hellish rascals cut my sister in the thumb, when she had him by the bridle, begging her father's life. God of his infinite mercy support this poor

family, under this dreadful and unsupportable case, and give us to know why God is thus angry with us, and earnestly beg not to consume us in his wrath, but now that his anger may cease, and he may be at peace with us, through the blood of a reconciled Saviour; and also may have pity upon this poor distressed church, and that he may be the last sacrifice for it, as he is the first protestant martyr bishop in such a way.

Dear Sir, as my worthy father had alway a kindness and particular esteem for yourself, son, and family, so I hope you will be friendly to his son, who shall ever continue, worthy sir, your most faithful, &c. &c.

W. Sharp.

St Andrew's, 10 May, 1679.
½ hour after receipt of your's.

On Saturday next is the funeral.

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